













## **GREAT ORATIONS**



# GREAT ORATIONS

A COLLECTION OF NOTABLE  
PORTIONS OF FAMOUS  
SPEECHES BY STATESMEN,  
JURISTS, POLITICIANS AND  
DIVINES

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## INTRODUCTION

WHAT is oratory? It seems a simple question, but how few can precisely define the term? To reply that it is the art of eloquent speech is not sufficient, for eloquence itself is a word that requires elucidation. It is not a fixed law capable of absolute definition, but a quality which in its manifestations has changed from age to age. Each century has had its own special standard of testing public speech, and this has differed from the standard of the preceding century or that succeeding almost as much as the opinions of those particular periods differed from each other. When we read the principal Parliamentary speeches of the Elizabethan era—utterances which at the time they were delivered were considered models of oratorical skill—we wonder wherein lie the qualities which excited the admiration of the old-time Parliament man. Bacon, who was acclaimed in his age as the greatest of orators, is to us inexpressibly dull, owing to the extent to which he overweighted his speeches with classic irrelevancies. It is much the same with the compositions of the greatest of his contemporaries. To us they are for the most part almost incomprehensible jargon, in which an exaggerated pedantry is ever struggling with a whimsical hyperbolism for the mastery. The speakers always appear on stilts, walking daintily in an academic field, and pausing frequently to pick flowers on their path, with the express object of showing, not how directly and effectively they can travel, but how admirably they can compose a pretty nosegay of the brilliant things about them. Now and again in the speeches of the great Queen, or in the sermons of divines who made ecclesiastical history, we get a suggestion of eloquence as we understand the word. But these are mere transient gleams which only serve to accentuate the prevailing barrenness. If we take the later period of the Long Parliament, an era distinguished traditionally by uncommon oratory, we are less at a loss to discover the foundations on which great oratorical reputations were raised. The speeches of that historical epoch are marked by a grim earnestness which we respect, and an unflinching patriotism which we admire. In many cases we can understand how in the circumstances of the day they created a sensation. None the less we miss that magic touch of inspiration which we associate with the highest eloquence. Much, no doubt, is lost to us in the reporting, much by the fact that we cannot place ourselves in the environment of the speakers, and breathe with the listeners the electric atmosphere in which the speeches were delivered. Still, making every allowance for these and other drawbacks to a full appreciation of the qualities of the utterances, it is clear to us that our ancestors' views of oratory and our own differ very widely.

It is not until we get into the eighteenth century, and the transcendent genius of the Parliamentary giants of that day illumine the scene, that we are on really firm ground. That was undoubtedly the palmy age of oratory. The thrill which was sent through a listening Senate by the burning words of Chatham is felt by us to-day when we read in cold type his glowing rhetoric. It may even be said



that we have advanced in the appreciation shown by our eighteenth-century predecessors of the oratory of the period; for Burke's speeches, which, when not delivered to empty benches, were regarded with ostentatious indifference by his brother members, are now universally accepted as amongst the most perfect specimens of eloquence that there are in the English language. Generous, however, as is our admiration for the oratory of the Georgian epoch, it is by very different ideals that we judge the public speaking of our day. The histrionic leaven which was then deemed an almost essential feature of a great oration, is now, if exhibited in a speech, regarded as a sure mark of degeneracy. Though our great speakers are by no means blind to the value of sentiment, they put a tight curb upon it, and only permit its use in conjunction with more sober qualities. A power of business-like statement coupled with argumentative skill, and a capacity for trenchant criticism and biting satire—these are the elements which chiefly go to make the orator in our day. A statesman is declared to have made an eloquent speech, not when he has declaimed in the spirit of Sheridan's Begum speech, but when he has delivered a powerful argumentative address, in which he has overwhelmed an opponent more by force of reason and of ridicule than of sentiment. While, however, the popular view of oratory has changed from age to age, certain immutable conditions have always been recognised as governing the art.

Bolingbroke, himself no mean orator, once said that "eloquence must flow like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring." That statement is as true now as it was when it was uttered. Your halting speaker can never be an orator, be his learning ever so great or his diction ever so chaste. Nor is fluency, however graceful it may be, of itself sufficient to elevate the speaker into the company of the elect. Henry Ward Beecher puts this point very forcibly when he says, "Mere eloquence is like the light of shavings, which burn with a sudden flash, blazing for an instant, and then going out without leaving either coals or heat behind." Many transient reputations have been built up by the display of superficial brilliancy of the type of which the great American divine speaks. There is, for example, the well-known case of Whitefield, who is reputed to have been able to produce every emotion of the human heart by pronouncing the name Mesopotamia. It is on record that on one occasion Dr. Lathrop described to Whitefield without any feeling a scene which he had witnessed. The same day the narrator listened to the same story by Whitefield and found himself bathed in tears. In this instance at least Whitefield showed himself a consummate actor rather than a great orator. Unquestionably, however, the talents which are distinctive of theatrical genius are essential to real eloquence. The greatest of the speeches of Erskine, if they had been delivered by a Chancery pleader with no more than the characteristic feeling which distinguishes his argumentative efforts in the Courts, would have been dismal failures. As far, indeed, as immediate success is concerned, the style of the orator is vastly more important than the matter. Fox once declared that a speech which read well was necessarily a bad speech. It was probably a playful remark intended to convey the statesman's distaste for elaborate polished orations which as spoken utterances missed fire because they lacked that magnetic quality which comes only from spontaneous eloquence. Fox's own reputation as a speaker was, however, founded on the qualities which produce immediate effect rather than on those which bring the orator lasting eminence. Sir James Mackintosh, in a discriminating appreciation of the statesman's oratorical genius, says of him, "When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even only a consummate judge would have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no

sooner had he spoken for some time, than he was changed into another being. He forgot himself and everything around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into the audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and convictions. He certainly possessed above all modernists that union of reason, simplicity, and eloquence which formed the prince of orators. He was the most Demosthenean speaker since the days of Demosthenes."

This glowing eulogy from the pen of one who knew the great Whig leader well, helps us to understand Fox's attitude towards oratory as disclosed in the remarks already quoted. Clearly he regarded as of supreme importance in an orator the task of persuading and impressing his hearers, and cared little whether in plain, unemotional type his utterances read with the smoothness and grace of a finished literary effort. We can understand his point of view and appreciate it. But at the same time we look in the highest achievements for something more than the genius to sway and move audiences, and we do not look as a rule in vain. Chatham, Sheridan, Canning, and Bright, to select four widely separated examples, were all profoundly impressive as exponents of the art of stirring the emotions of an audience, and yet their speeches are eminently readable. Burke stands on a platform by himself. His addresses are essays rather than orations, and they claim our meed of attention by reason of their literary excellences rather than of their didactic qualities. Yet even these examples, singularly unsuccessful though they were at the moment of their delivery, exercised a spell on the public of his day of a kind which no merely written efforts would have done. Erskine once, asked his opinion of Burke's style of oratory, described it as "execrable." "I was," said he, "in the House of Commons when he made his great speech on American Conciliation—the greatest he ever made. He drove everybody away. I wanted to go out with the rest, but was near him and afraid to get up, so I squeezed myself down and got under the benches like a dog until I got to the door without his seeing me, rejoicing in my escape. Next day I went to the Isle of Wight. When the speech followed me there I read it over and over again. I could hardly think of anything else. I carried it about with me, and thumbed it until it got like a wadding for my gun." Erskine added that he was in the House when Burke threw a dagger on the floor in his speech on the French Revolution, and "it had like to have hit my foot; it was a sad failure; but Burke could bear it."\*

The impression made by Burke on Erskine was that which was generally made. People who could not listen with patience to his speeches, devoured them eagerly when they appeared in print. He failed miserably with the limited audience who came within sound of his voice; he magnificently triumphed with that vaster audience which lay beyond. Only pedantry will deny to him the title of orator, because he was unable to give effective physical expression to that poetic glow of fancy and majestic depth of feeling which pervade his speeches. A capacity for electrifying an audience, to use a modern phrase, is valuable in a speaker, in the case of some it is indispensable. But of far greater importance, it will appear to most, is that supreme quality of transcendent genius, which in all great orations shines out in the written word with a lustre which does not diminish with years.

In surveying the field of oratory of the English-speaking race one is made conscious at the outset of the difficulty of presenting in a reasonable compass an adequate picture of the real greatness and nobility of the genius of our language. An initial stumbling-block of a serious kind is the paucity of the matter in places where illustration seems to be imperatively called for if the task is to be discharged

\* Campbell's *Lives*, vol. ix., p. 269.

## Introduction

with proper regard to completeness. The records of the stirring Parliamentary debates of the troubled reign of Charles I.—a period rich in examples of eloquence according to all contemporary accounts—are sadly inadequate. Only a degree more perfect are the oratorical remains of the great period at the end of the seventeenth century, when Halifax lent a noble dignity to the House of Lords by his “polished, luminous, and animated eloquence, set off by the silver tones of his voice”;\* and when the high-minded Somers charmed the same assembly by oratory the purity and eloquence of which won an admiring tribute from so fastidious and exacting a critic as Lord Chesterfield. When we travel a little further onward we are confronted with a still more striking dearth of material. Of the great debates which marked the eventful years of the reign of Queen Anne the memory alone survives. It was a period of surpassing Parliamentary interests, made famous by the extraordinary genius of Bolingbroke. This remarkable man was gifted, according to contemporary accounts, with a power of oratory which placed him not only in the front rank of orators of his day but of all time. Yet of his eloquence not a single spoken sentence remains. “It was the contemplation of this chasm,” said Lord Brougham, “that made Mr. Pitt, when musing upon its brink, and calling to mind all that might be fancied of the orator from the author, and all that traditional testimony had handed down to us, sigh after a speech of Bolingbroke, desiring it far more than the restoration of all that has perished of the treasures of the ancient world.” Additional testimony to the splendour of Bolingbroke’s oratorical fame is supplied by Lord Chesterfield’s remark in one of his letters to his son:—“I would much rather that you had Lord Bolingbroke’s style and eloquence, in speaking and writing than all the learning of the Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society, and the two Universities united.” It must ever be a matter for profound regret that no specimen of such remarkable oratory has been preserved. But it is, unfortunately, not only the loss of the examples of Bolingbroke’s eloquence that we have to deplore. The great duels which took place in the House of Commons between Walpole and Pulteney when Bolingbroke had disappeared from the scene are but very scantily traced in the reliable records of the Parliamentary debates of the time. Walpole was, perhaps, not a great orator in the strict sense of the term. But Pulteney was exceptionally gifted. Lord Shelbourne described him as “the greatest Parliamentary orator that the House of Commons had ever had.” Speaker Onslow considered him to have the most popular parts for public speaking of any man he had ever known. Walpole testified not less conspicuously to his powers by the assertion that he feared Pulteney’s tongue more than any other man’s sword. His most distinguished gift as a Parliamentary orator, according to Cox, “must have been his versatility, his power of changing like the wind, as Chesterfield put it, from grave to gay, and alternating pathos and wit.” He was altogether a man of quite exceptional attainments, a speaker who in our own time would have had a foremost place in the records of oratory. Yet such is the poverty of the material resulting from misguided views as to Parliamentary reporting that only a few comparatively unimportant specimens of Pulteney’s eloquence have been handed down to us.

A still more conspicuous example of historical neglect is furnished by the case of the brilliant and erratic Charles Townshend. “Nothing,” says Mr. Lecky, in his *History of England*, “remains of an eloquence which some of the best judges placed above that of Burke, and only second to that of Chatham, and the two or three pamphlets that are ascribed to his pen hardly surpass the average of the political literature of the time. Exuberant animal spirits, a brilliant and ever-

\* Macaulay.

ready wit, boundless facility of repartee, a clear, rapid, and spontaneous eloquence, a gift of mimicry which is said to have been not inferior to that of Garrick and Foote, great charm of manner, and an unrivalled skill in adapting himself to the moods and tempers of those who were about him, had made him the delight of every circle in which he moved, the spoilt child of the House of Commons." There is one speech made by Charles Townshend in the House of Commons which, if only half that has been said of it is true, would for ever establish his fame as an orator. Reference to it is made by Horace Walpole in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, dated May 12th, 1767. Referring to this "wonderful speech" delivered on the previous Friday, Walpole says: "It was all wit and folly, satire and indiscretion. He (Townshend) was half drunk when he made it, and yet that did but serve to raise the idea of his abilities." In another letter dealing with the same subject Walpole says: "The speech lasted an hour, with torrents of wit, ridicule, vanity, lies, and beautiful language. Nobody but he could have made that speech, and nobody but he would have made it if they could. It was at once a proof that his abilities were superior to those of all men, and his judgment below that of any man. It showed him capable of being, and unfit to be, First Minister. The House was in a roar of rapture, and some clapped their hands with ecstasy like an audience in a theatre. In this speech he beat Lord Chatham in language, Burke in metaphors, Grenville in presumption, Rigby in impudence, himself in folly, and everybody in good-humour." An oration which could draw such encomiums from Horace Walpole must indeed have been of no common kind. That it should remain merely a tradition, while endless volumes enshrining Parliamentary dulness and mediocrity have been transmitted to us, is one of those little ironies of life which are ever arising to disconcert us.

The failure of the reporters in the case of this "champagne speech" of Charles Townshend finds a striking parallel in the Parliamentary career of another remarkable figure in the House of Commons at this period. No authentic report exists of the extraordinary speech delivered in 1755 by William Gerard Hamilton, who by that solitary effort won enduring fame in Parliamentary annals as "Single-Speech Hamilton." These and similar less conspicuous hiatuses in the records of oratory of the mid-eighteenth-century period are to be attributed to the mistaken policy then in the ascendant of treating the reporter as a sworn enemy of the Constitution. The right to publish debates was vindicated long before the century closed, but the evils of the old system of repression lingered, and before Parliamentary reporting was established on a firm and efficient footing, cause was given to lament other deficiencies. By far the most notable of these was the imperfect recording of Sheridan's "Begum Speech," which made such a tremendous impression that within twenty-four hours after its delivery the orator was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright of the utterance. An unkind fate has also deprived us of Pitt's great speech—by his contemporaries considered the most brilliant of all his orations—of May 18th, 1803, on the state of the nation. By a piece of stupid official fussiness the reporters were excluded from the gallery at the time of the delivery of the speech, and no adequate report of what the great statesman said on the occasion has ever been published. Since this day the reporter's art has so developed that few really great orations have remained unrecorded, though occasionally, as in Macaulay's case, the accuracy of the transcript of the shorthand writer's notes has been called in question, and a certain unreliability consequently given to published examples of a statesman's oratory.

On the whole, the wonder is, perhaps, not that the records of so many great speeches have perished, but that the material available comprehends so much

that is loftiest and best in the public utterances of famous men since the period when oratory in the most widely accepted meaning of the term was practised. One upon whom the task of making a selection devolves must stand appalled at the difficulties which confront him of drawing from that rich mine treasures which will give a reasonably comprehensive view of the wealth it contains, and at the same time do adequate justice to individual deposits. Two methods of procedure are possible in such circumstances. One is to give entire an isolated speech of an orator, and the other to reproduce passages from his most remarkable utterances. Neither course is completely satisfactory, but it seems that the last named is the most effective, both as an aid to a comprehension of the gifts of the speaker, and as a means of illustrating the practice of the art of oratory in all periods. It is certainly the one best calculated to interest and instruct, for it allows of the introduction of an infinitely more varied list of subjects, and precludes the necessity of including matter which has become obscure, if not incomprehensible, by reason of the fading into oblivion of the incidents or controversies to which it refers. Fine passages torn from the context, it may be granted, lose something of their force and beauty in the process. But as the gem of the first water when plucked from its setting still shines with dazzling radiance, so these eloquent extracts retain much of their old charm in their isolation. The principle described is that followed in the present work. For the most part the selections made are from the brilliant periods of a speech when the orator reaches the moment of highest inspiration, and pours forth in copious stream the beautiful thoughts which pass through his brain. Dealing as the work does with nearly a hundred individual orators, it has not been possible to do more in some instances than give a few extracts, and in a small number only a single specimen. Where such restraint has been rendered necessary by the limitations of space, the aim has been to reproduce something characteristic of the orator and historically interesting. Palmerston's *Civis Romanus sum* oration, and Lord Randolph Churchill's declamation against "the Moloch of Midlothian," may be cited as examples of the way in which the duty of selection has been discharged in cases which did not appear to call for lengthy treatment. Each passage is suggestive of the distinctive qualities of the orator and helps, perhaps, to a more intelligent appreciation of his genius than would an extended series of miscellaneous excerpts. In the case of living statesmen, no attempt has been made to do more than illustrate the speaker's style by a few of the more striking passages from his speeches. This course has been deliberately followed because it was felt that the reader would probably prefer examples of eloquence which are stamped with the hall-mark of history to strictly modern utterances with which he is passably familiar, and which have yet to be acknowledged as worthy to rank in classic company. The procedure has been rendered the more necessary by the change that has come over oratory in recent years. It would be wrong to say that oratory in the old sense of the word does not exist; but undoubtedly there is singularly little of it. The direct businesslike presentations of argument, either in the Senate or on the platform, which we call orations, are oftentimes most effective, occasionally singularly impressive, but they lack the glamour which in old days attached to the speeches of public men. To make extracts from them very often is to spoil a good piece of political sledge-hammer work without revealing the real oratorical force of the speaker. Latter-day statesmen are seen best, perhaps, on neutral ground, when, stepping aside from the interminable party fray, they devote their genius to the elucidation in thoughtful fashion of some problem which has a fascination for them and attracts the public. Lord Rosebery and Mr. Balfour are particularly prone

to these interesting excursions, and, as likely to be productive of more widespread interest than fragments of political speeches, the extracts given in their cases are largely on subjects of literary or theological interest.

In a general way the aim kept steadily in view has been the construction of a mosaic illustrative of the whole range of English-speaking oratory. Such a production would not be complete without an American colouring, and so there has been included a selection of passages from speeches of the best-known orators who have flourished across the Atlantic from the days of the Revolution downwards. This section might have been expanded by the inclusion of examples of that peculiar after-dinner oratory of which the modern history of the United States is so fruitful. But in view of the elusive qualities of so much of this style of speaking, and the, as a rule, ephemeral character of the subjects treated, it was felt to be better to confine attention to those examples which throw light upon American history and national character. Such as it is, with all its necessary limitations, of which the editor is only too conscious, the work is given to the world.



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## GREAT ORATIONS

SIR THOMAS MORE, 1478-1535

Born in Milk Street, Cheapside, London. The son of Sir John More, a Judge of the Court of King's Bench. Under-Sheriff of the City of London. Knighted and sworn of the Privy Council 1514. Made Speaker of the House of Commons 1529, on the nomination of Cardinal Wolsey, whom he succeeded as Lord Chancellor in 1529. He was the first layman to occupy the woolsack. At one time a great favourite of Henry VIII., he fell under that tyrannical monarch's displeasure for opposing the divorce of Queen Catherine and declining to be present at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn. On his refusal to subscribe to the Act of Supremacy in 1534, he was charged with treason, and being found guilty by a prejudiced tribunal, was beheaded on Tower Hill. His memory is perpetuated not only by his blameless character and high judicial attainments, but by his literary skill, of which the well-known treatise "Utopia" is a striking example.

## ON HIS INSTALLATION AS LORD CHANCELLOR

THIS weight is hardly suitable to my weak shoulders ; this honour is not correspondent to my poor deserts ; it is a burthen, not glory ; a care, not a dignity ; the one, therefore, I must bear as manfully as I can, and discharge the other with as much dexterity as I shall be able. The earnest desire which I have always had, and do now acknowledge myself to have to satisfy by all means I can possible the most ample benefits of His Highness, will greatly excite and aid me to the diligent performance of all ; which I trust also I shall be more able to do, if I find all your good wills and wishes both favourable unto me, and conformable to his Royal munificence ; because my serious endeavours to do well, joined with your favourable acceptance, will easily prove that whatsoever is performed by me, though it be in itself but small, yet will it seem great and praiseworthy, for those things are always achieved happily which are accepted willingly ; and those succeed fortunately which are received by others courteously.

As you, therefore, do hope for great matters and the best at my hands, so, though I dare not promise any such, yet do I promise truly and affectionately to perform the best I shall be able. But when I look upon this seat (the high judgment seat of the Chancery), when I think how great and what kind of personages have possessed this place before me, when I call to mind who it was that sat in it last of all ;\* a man of what singular wisdom, of what notable experience, what a prosperous and favourable future he had for a great space, and how at last, dejected with a heavy downfall he hath died inglorious ;† I have cause enough, by my predecessor's example, to think honour but slippery, and this dignity not so grateful to me as it may seem to others. For both it is a hard matter to follow in like paces or praises a man of such admirable wit, prudence, authority, and splendour, to whom I may seem but the lighting of a candle when the sun is down ; and also the sudden and unexpected fall of so great a man as he was doth terribly

\* Wolsey.

† Campbell thinks that this allusion shows that the speech, which is taken from More's life by his grandson, cannot be genuine, as Wolsey's death did not take place until some time later.

put me in mind that this honour ought not to please me too much, nor the lustre of this glistering seat dazzle mine eyes.

Wherefore I ascend this seat as a place full of labour and danger, void of all solid and true honour; the which by how much the higher it is, by so much greater fall I am to fear, as well in respect of the very nature of the thing itself, as because I am warned by this late fearful example. And truly I might even now, at this very first entrance, stumble, yea faint, but that His Majesty's most singular favour towards me and all your good wills, which your joyful countenance doth testify in this most honourable assembly, doth somewhat recreate and refresh me; otherwise this seat would be no more pleasing to me than that sword was to Damocles, which hung over his head and tied only by a hair of a horse's tail, seated him in the chair of state of Denis, the tyrant of Sicily. This, therefore, shall always be fresh in my mind; this will I have still before mine eyes—that this seat will be honourable, famous and full of glory unto me, if I shall with care and diligence, fidelity and wisdom, endeavour to do my duty, and shall persuade myself that the enjoying thereof may chance to be short and uncertain; the one whereof my labour ought to perform, the other my predecessor's example may easily teach me. All which being so, you may easily perceive what great pleasure I take in this high dignity, or this noble Duke's \* praising of me.—*Speech delivered in Westminster Hall, 1529.*

#### THE ROYAL SHEPHERD

That like as a good shepherd, who not only tendeth and keepeth well his sheep, but also forsceth and provideth against everything which either may be hurtful or noisome to his flock, or may preserve and defend the same against all chances to come; so the King, who is the shepherd, ruler, and governor of this realm, vigilantly foreseeing things to come, considers how divers laws, by long continuance of time and mutation of things, are now grown insufficient and imperfect; and also that, by the frail condition of man, divers new enormities are sprung up amongst the people for the which no law is made to reform the same, is the very cause why, at this time, the King hath summoned his High Court of Parliament. The King is like a shepherd or herdsman also for this cause: if a King is esteemed only for his riches, he is but a rich man; if for his honour, he is but an honourable man; but compare him to the multitude of his people and the number of his flock, then he is a ruler, a governor of might and power; so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of sheep cometh the name of a shepherd. And as you see that amongst a great flock of sheep some be rotten and faulty, which the good shepherd sendeth from the sound sheep, so the great Wether which is late fallen, as you all know, juggled with the King so craftily, scabbedly, and untruly, that all men must think that he imagined himself that the King had no sense to perceive his crafty doings, or presumed that he would not see or understand his fraudulent juggling and attempts. But he was deceived; for his Grace's sight was so quick and penetrable, that he not only saw him but saw through him, both within and without; so that he was entirely open to him. According to his desert, he hath had a gentle correction; which small punishment the King would not should be an example to other offenders; but openly declareth that whosoever hereafter shall make the like attempt, or commit the like offences, shall not escape with the like punishment.—*Speech delivered as Lord Chancellor at the Opening of Parliament, 1529.*

\* The Duke of Norfolk, who made the initiatory speech by command of the King.

HUGH LATIMER, D.D., 1485(?)–1555

Divine and Martyr ; born at Thurstaston, in Leicestershire. Educated at Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by his piety and studious habits. Early showed talent as a preacher, and in that capacity came into favour with Henry VIII. He was one of the delegates appointed to determine the validity of the marriage of the King with Catherine of Arragon. Subsequently he was made chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and through her influence and that of the Earl of Essex was raised in 1535 to the Bishopric of Worcester. After the fall of Essex he was imprisoned in the Tower, but was set free in 1541. On the accession of Mary he was again imprisoned, and after remaining six months in prison was taken with Ridley and Cranmer to Oxford. All three prelates were excommunicated and condemned. Sixteen months later, on October 16th, 1555, Latimer and Ridley were burnt at the stake in front of Balliol College. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man," said Latimer, in memorable words: "we shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

THE WICKEDNESS OF LONDON

HERE have I an occasion, by the way, somewhat to say unto you, yea, for the place that I alleged unto you before, out of Jeremiah the forty-eighth chapter. And it was spoken of a spiritual work of God—a work that was commanded to be done, and it was of shedding blood, and of destroying the cities of Moab. "For," saith he, "cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding of blood" (Jer. xlviii. 10). As Saul, when he kept back the sword from shedding of blood, at what time he was sent against Amalek, was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandments, in that he spared Agag the king. So that that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reproved for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart, and for these sins was plagued of God, and destroyed. Now, what shall we say of these rich citizens of London? What shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? No, no! I may not say so; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore, I say, Repent, O London repent, repent! Thou hearest thy faults told thee; amend them, amend them. I think if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And you, rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect; look to your charge, and see you do your duties, and rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado there was made in London at a certain man, because he said—and indeed, at that time, on a just cause—"Burgesses," quoth he, "nay, butterflies." Lord! what ado there was for that word! And yet, would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature; the butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy of other men's goods, is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's Word; it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London cannot abide to be rebuked; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick. If they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince. But yet they will not amend their faults; they will not be evil spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them? If you could be content to receive and follow

the Word of God, and favour good preachers—if you could bear to be told of your faults—if you could amend when you hear of them—if you would be glad to reform that is amiss—if I might see any such inclination in you, that leave to be merciless and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you.

But London was never so evil as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity, for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold; he shall lie sick at their door, between stock and stock—I cannot tell what to call it—and perish there for hunger. Was there any more unmercifulness in Nebo? I think not. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the university with exhibitions. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it, and hearken for it, but now charity is waxed cold; none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor. And in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars? Many they maintained and gave them languages, that were very papists, and professed the Pope's doctrine; and now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them. O London, London! repent, repent! for I think God is more displeased with London than ever He was with the city of Nebo. Repent, therefore, repent, London! and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God and none other, and He will punish sin as well now as He did then, and He will punish the iniquity of London as well as He did then of Nebo.—*From a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, Jan. 18th, 1549.*

#### ON RECONCILIATION

A true and faithful servant, whensoever his master commandeth him to do anything, he maketh no stops nor questions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he, continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and stops, whatsoever betide him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his master's will and pleasure. On the contrary, a slothful servant, when his master commandeth him to do anything, by-and-by he will ask questions, "Where?" "When?" "Which way?" and so forth; and so he putteth everything in doubt, that, although both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and slothful behaviour his master's commandment is either undone quite, or else so done that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions, and put no doubts. Be not ashamed to do thy Master's and Lord's will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is afore-said), whom thou has lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviour; and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee: require of him charitably to remit; and cease not till you both depart, one from the other, true brethren in Christ.

Do not, like the slothful servant, thy master's message with cautions and doubts: come not to thy neighbour whom thou hast offended and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will show thee like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty

years old, in thy neighbour's bosom. When he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But, now I tell thee, it is worse than it was, for by such cloaked charity, where thou dost offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein : for now thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if He would take it of thee. Thou thinkest to blind thy master Christ's commandment. Beware, do not so, for at length He will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatsoever thou be ; and so, as I said, it should be better for thee not to do His message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. "What?" some will say, "I am sure he loveth me well enough : he speaketh fair to my face." Yet for all that thou mayest be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man, to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his body ; for all these parts of a man's body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes, that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and business. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving some alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his body, that will labour with his body, or put his body in danger to do good for thee, or deliver thee from adversity : and so forth, with the other members of his body. And if thy neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayest think that he loveth thee well ; and thou, in like wise, oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be engendered amongst you.—*Extract from Sermons on the Card.*

### JOHN JEWEL, D.D., 1522-1571

**Bishop of Salisbury.** Born in Devonshire, he studied at Oxford, and early identified himself with the Protestant party in the Church. When Queen Mary came to the throne, he discreetly retired to the Continent, where he resided until the accession of Elizabeth. Returning from his self-imposed exile, he was, in 1559, made Bishop of Salisbury. He was the author of many theological works, the best known of which is "An Apology for the Church of England." Dying in 1571, he was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

#### THE MASS

AND if there be any here that have had, or yet have, any good opinion of the mass, I beseech you for God's sake, even as ye tender your own salvation, suffer not yourselves wilfully to be led away, run not blindly to your own confusion. Think with yourselves, it was not for nought that so many of your brethren rather suffered themselves to die, and to abide all manner of extremity and cruelty, than they would be partakers of that thing that you reckon to be so holy. Let their death, let their ashes, let their blood, that was so abundantly shed before your eyes, somewhat prevail with you, and move you. Be not ruled by your wilful affections. Ye have a good zeal and mind towards God ; have it according unto the knowledge of God. The Jews had a zeal of God, and yet they crucified the Son of God. Search the Scriptures ; there shall ye find everlasting life. There shall ye learn to judge yourselves, and your own doings, that ye be not judged of the Lord. If ever it happen you to be present again at the mass, think but thus with yourselves—What make I here ? What profit have I of my doings ? I hear nothing ; I understand nothing ; I am taught nothing ; I receive nothing. Christ bade

me take ; I take nothing. Christ bade me eat ; I eat nothing. Christ bade me drink ; I drink nothing. Is this the institution of Christ ? Is this the Lord's Supper ? Is this the right use of the holy mysteries ? Is this it that Paul delivered unto me ? Is this it that Paul received of the Lord ? Let us say but thus unto ourselves, and no doubt God of His mercy will open our hearts ; we shall see our errors, and content ourselves to be ordered by the wisdom of God ; to do that God will have us to do ; to believe that God will have us to believe ; to worship that God will have us worship. So shall we have comfort of the holy mysteries ; so shall we receive the fruits of Christ's death ; so shall we be partakers of Christ's body and blood ; so shall Christ truly dwell in us, and we in Him ; so shall all error be taken from us ; so shall we join all together in God's truth ; so shall we all be able with one heart and one spirit to know and to glorify the only, the true, and the living God, and His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, to whom both, with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.—*Extract from the famous Sermon first preached at St. Paul's Cross, Nov. 26th, 1559, and afterwards preached at Court, March 17th, 1560.*

### QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1533-1603

Daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. She succeeded to the throne on the death of her sister Mary on November 17th, 1558. She died at Richmond. In her relations with her Parliaments she took a very high tone, and not infrequently lectured them personally upon their shortcomings. In the speech given below we have a fair example of her fiery oratory.

It may be thought simplicity in me that all this time of my reign I have not sought to advance my territories and enlarge my dominions ; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect ; but though it hath been not hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained ; that hath only held me from such attempts, and I must say my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over mine own and to rule as a just prince.

Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller and the beginning of all these wars ; in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be ; for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts wherein I have done him the least injury, but I am persuaded in my conscience if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong that he hath done me.

I fear not all his threatenings ; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me ; for though he came against me with a greater power than ever was his invincible navy, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him because my cause is just.

I heard say when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the sea coast forsook their towns and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. But I swear unto you by God if I knew those persons, or if any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.—*Speech delivered from the Throne on the opening of Parliament, 1593, after the Lord Keeper had replied to the Speaker's Address.*

## Peter Wentworth

### PETER WENTWORTH

An intrepid defender of the right of freedom of speech in the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth. For the speech from which extracts are given below he was committed to the Tower. At the expiration of a month he was released on making acknowledgment of his fault. On subsequent occasions, however, he re-affirmed the sentiments expressed in this bold utterance and was twice imprisoned—in 1557–58 and 1593. His firm stand for liberty practically commenced the great constitutional struggle which culminated in the execution of Charles I. and the establishment of the Commonwealth.

#### THE LIBERTIES OF PARLIAMENT

AMONGST other, Mr. Speaker, two things do great hurt in this place, of which I do mean to speak. The one is a rumour which runneth about the House, and this it is—"Take heed what you do; the Queen liketh not such matter; whoever preferreth it, she will be offended with him." Or the contrary—"Her Majesty liketh of such matter; whoever speaketh against it, she will be much offended with him." The other—sometimes a message is brought into the House, either of commanding or inhibiting, very injurious to the freedom of speech and consultation. I would to God, Mr. Speaker, that these two were burned in hell—I mean rumours and messages, for wicked they undoubtedly are. The reason is, the devil was the first author of them, from whom proceedeth nothing but wickedness. Now I will set down reasons to prove them wicked. For if we be in hand with anything for the advancement of God's glory, were it not wicked to say the Queen liketh not of it, or commandeth that we shall not deal in it? Greatly were these speeches to her Majesty's dishonour; and an hard opinion were it, Mr. Speaker, that these things should enter into her Majesty's thought. Much more wicked were it that her Majesty should like or command anything against God or hurtful to herself and the State. The Lord grant that this thing may be far from her Majesty's heart! Here this may be objected—that, if the Queen's Majesty have intelligence of anything perilous or beneficial to her Majesty's person or the State, would you not have her Majesty give knowledge thereof to the House, whereby her peril may be prevented and her benefit provided for? God forbid! Then were her Majesty in worse case than any of her subjects. And, in the beginning of our speech, I showed it to be a special cause of our assembling; but my intent is, that nothing should be done to God's dishonour, to her Majesty's peril, or the peril of the State. And, therefore, I will show the inconveniences that grow of these two. First, if we follow not the Prince's mind, Solomon saith, "The King's displeasure is a messenger of death." This is a terrible thing to weak nature; for who is able to abide the fierce countenance of his Prince? But if we will discharge our consciences, and be true to God and Prince and State, we must have due consideration of the place and the occasion of our coming together, and especially have regard unto the matter, wherein we both shall serve God and our Prince and State faithfully, and not dissembling as eye-pleasers, and so justly avoid all displeasures both to God and our Prince; for Solomon saith, "In the way of the righteous there is life." As for any other way, it is the path to death. So that, to avoid everlasting death and condemnation with the high and mighty God, we ought to proceed in every cause according to the matter, and not according to the Prince's mind. And now I will show you a reason to prove it perilous always to follow the Prince's mind. Many a time it falleth out that a Prince may favour a cause perilous to himself and the whole State. What are we, then, if



we follow the Prince's mind? Are we not unfaithful unto God, our Prince, and State? Yes, truly; we are chosen of the whole realm, of a special trust and confidence by them reposed in us, to foresee all such inconveniences. Then I will set down my opinion herein; that is to say, he that dissembleth to her Majesty's peril to be accounted as a hateful enemy, for that he giveth unto her Majesty a detestable Judas's kiss, and he that contrarieth her mind to her preservation, yea, though her Majesty would be much offended with him, is to be judged an approved lover. For "faithful are the wounds of a lover," saith Solomon, "but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." "And 'tis better," saith Antisthenes, "to fall amongst ravens than amongst flatterers; for ravens do but devour the dead corpse, and flatterers the living." And it is both traitorous and hellish, through flattery, to seek to devour our natural Prince; and that do flatterers. Therefore, let them leave it with shame enough.—*Speech in the House of Commons, Feb. 8th, 1586.*

### SIR JOHN ELIOT, 1590–1632

The great patriot of the pre-Revolutionary period. A native of Port Eliot, in Cornwall, Sir John Eliot was educated at Oxford and entered Parliament in 1614. In the second and third Parliaments of Charles I., he took the lead in opposing the subversive measures of the King. His steadfast vindication of popular rights led to his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower on several occasions. He died there in November, 1632, after a final prolonged period of incarceration. As he was one of the earliest of the martyrs to the popular cause, he was probably the greatest. His memory is revered by every true lover of liberty.

#### STATE OF THE NATION

MR. SPEAKER, we sit here as the great Council of the King, and, in that capacity, it is our duty to take into consideration the state and affairs of the kingdom, and when there is occasion to give a true representation of them, by way of counsel and advice, with what we conceive necessary or expedient to be done.

In this consideration, I confess many a sad thought hath affrighted me, and that not only in respect of our dangers from abroad (which yet I know are great, as they have been often pressed and dilated to us), but in respect of our disorders here at home, which do enforce those dangers, and by which they are occasioned. For I believe I shall make it clear to you, that both at first the cause of these dangers were our disorders and our disorders now are yet our greatest dangers; that not so much the potency of our enemies, as the weakness of ourselves, doth threaten us, so that the saying of one of the Fathers may be assumed by us, *Non tam potentiâ sua quam negligentia nostrâ*—"Not so much by their power as by our neglect." Our want of true devotion to Heaven, our insincerity and doubting in religion, our want of councils, our precipitate actions, the insufficiency or unfaithfulness of our generals abroad, ignorance and corruption of our ministers at home, the impoverishing of the sovereign, the oppression and depression of the subject, the exhausting of our treasures, the waste of our provisions, consumption of our ships, destruction of our men—these make the advantage of our enemies, not the reputation of their arms; and if in these there be not reformation, we need no foes abroad. Time itself will ruin us. . . .

These, Mr. Speaker, are our dangers; these are they who do threaten us, and these are, like the Trojan horse, brought in cunningly to surprise us. In these do lurk the strongest of our enemies, ready to issue on us; and if we do not speedily expel them, these are the signs, these are the invitations to others! These will so prepare their entrance that we shall have no means left of refuge or defence.

If we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with those that are abroad? If we be free from these, no other can impeach us. Our ancient English virtue (like the old Spartan valour), cleared from these disorders—our being in sincerity of religion and once made friends with Heaven; having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulency in the King, liberty in the people, repletion in treasure, plenty of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men—our ancient English virtue, I say, thus rectified, will secure us; and unless there be a speedy reformation in these, I know not what hopes or expectations we can have. These are the things, Sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration; that as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers, we may truly represent them unto the King, which I conceive we are bound to do by a triple obligation—of duty to God, of duty to his Majesty, and of duty to our country. And, therefore, I wish it may so stand with the wisdom and judgment of the House, that these things may be drawn into the body of a remonstrance; and in all humility expressed, with a prayer to his Majesty, that for the safety of himself, for the safety of the kingdom, and for the safety of religion, he will be pleased to give us time to make perfect inquisition thereof, or to take them into his own wisdom, and there give them such timely reformation as the necessity and justice of the case doth import. And thus, Sir, with a large affection and loyalty to his Majesty, and with a firm duty and service to my country, I have suddenly (and it may be with some disorder) expressed the weak apprehensions I have, wherein, if I have erred, I humbly crave your pardon, and so submit myself to the censure of the House.—*Speech delivered in the House of Commons on June 3rd, 1628, while the Petition of Right was under discussion.*

### SIR EDWARD COKE, 1552-1634

The great jurist and statesman of the Parliamentary period. Born at Mileham, in Norfolk, and educated at Norwich and Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected Recorder of London in 1592, Solicitor-General and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1598, and Attorney-General in 1594. On June 30th, 1606, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and in October, 1613, was promoted to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench. He fell under the displeasure of the King and was removed from his high office and committed to the Tower in Dec., 1621, remaining there for nine months. Subsequently in the reign of Charles I. he re-entered Parliament, and took a prominent part in the exciting debates which marked the struggle between the monarch and Parliament. He may be regarded as the author of the famous Petition of Right. The extract from a speech given below contains the germ of the idea. He died at Stoke Pogis, and was buried at Tittleshall, in his native county.

#### THE PETITION OF RIGHT

WE sit now in Parliament, and therefore must take his Majesty's words no otherwise than in a parliamentary way; that is, of a matter agreed on by both Houses—his Majesty sitting on his throne in his robes, with his crown on his head and sceptre in his hand, and in full Parliament; and his royal assent being entered upon record, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*. This was the royal word of a King in Parliament, and not a word delivered in a chamber, and out of the mouth of a secretary, at the second hand. Therefore I motion that the House of Commons, *more majorum*, should draw a petition *redroict* to his Majesty; which being confirmed by both Houses and assented unto by his Majesty, will be as firm an act as any. Not that I distrust the King, but that I cannot take his trust but in a parliamentary way.—*Speech in the House of Commons, May 6th, 1628.*

## SIR ROBERT PHILLIPS

A prominent member of the Parliaments of Charles I.

## LIBERTY

THIS day's debate makes me call to mind the custom of the Romans, who had a solemn feast once a year for their slaves, at which time they had liberty without exception to speak what they would, whereby to ease their afflicted minds ; which being finished, they severally returned to their former servitude. This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state, where now, after the revolution of some time, and grievous sufferings of many violent oppressions, we have ( as those slaves had ) a day of liberty of speech, but shall not, I trust, be herein slaves, for we are free ; we are not bondmen, but subjects ; those after their feast were slaves again, but it is our hope to return free men. . . .

I can live, although another without title be put to live with me ; nay, I can live, although I pay excises and impositions far more than I do. But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power, and to be pent up in a gaol without remedy by law, and this to be so adjudged as to perish in gaol,—O improvident ancestors ! O unwise forefathers ! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands and liberties of Parliament, and to neglect our persons and bodies, and to let them lie in prison, and that *durante beneplacito*, remediless. If this be law, what do we talk of our liberties ? Why do we trouble ourselves with the dispute of law, franchises, propriety of goods, and the like ? It is the *summa totalis* of all miseries. What may a man call his, if not liberty ?

## LORD DIGBY

A famous member of the Long Parliament, distinguished for his gift of picturesque oratory. His speech on the attainder of Strafford, extracts from which are given below, created a great sensation. The printing of the utterance brought down upon him the displeasure of the House. It was declared by motion made on June 13th, 1641, to be " untrue and scandalous to the proceedings of the House," and was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.

## ROYAL EXACTIONS

MR. SPEAKER, it hath been a metaphor frequent in Parliament, and, if my memory fail me not, was made use of in the Lord Keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what moneys Kings raised from their subjects, they were but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom too unluckily what hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions hath been formed, it is true, into clouds, but how ? To darken the sun's own lustre, and hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, to blast and wither our affections, had not the latter of these still been left alive by our King's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him in spite of all ill counsellors, a sacred object both of our admiration and loves.—*Speech in the House of Commons, Nov. 9th, 1640.*

THE ATTAINDER OF STRAFFORD

Some (I thank them for their plain dealing) have been so free as to tell me that I suffered much by the backwardness I have shown in this bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, against whom I had been formerly so keen, so active. Truly, Sir, I am still the same in my opinions and affections as unto the Earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him the most dangerous minister, the most unsupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the Devil the application. In a word, I believe him still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. And let me tell you, Master Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off. . . .

Had this of the Irish army been proved, it would have diffused a complexion of treason over all; it would have been a with, indeed, to bind all those other scattered and lesser branches, as it were, into a faggot of treason. I do not say but the rest may represent him as a man worthy to die, and perhaps worthier than many a traitor. I do not say but they may justly direct as to enact that they shall be treason for the future. But God keep me from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent posterity, upon a law made *à posteriori*. Let the mark be set on the door where the plague is, and then, let him that will enter, die. . . . Let me conclude in saying that unto you all which I have thoroughly inculcated to mine own conscience upon this occasion. Let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and sadly consider what we are going to do, with a breath—either justice or murder; justice on the one side, or murder heightened and aggravated to its supremest extent. The danger being so great, and the case so doubtful that I see the best lawyers in diametrical opposition concerning it, let every man wipe his heart, as he does his eyes when he would judge of a nice and subtle object. The eye, if it be pratincted with any other colour, is vitiated in its discerning. Let us take heed of a blood-stained eye of judgment.

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, 1593-1641

The unfortunate victim of Charles I.'s policy. Born in London, and educated at Cambridge, Wentworth entered Parliament as member for Yorkshire in 1614. At first on the popular side, he later sided with the King, and having in 1628 been created first Baron and then Viscount Wentworth, was made by Charles Lord President of the Council of the North. In 1632 he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Here his policy of "thorough" made him many enemies. Returning to England, he was in 1639 created Earl of Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But popular feeling set in so strongly against him that Charles I., with a weakness which has left a lasting stain upon his memory, gave him up to his enemies. Impeached by the Commons his trial in Westminster Hall, which was attended by Charles and his consort, was one of the most moving events in the history of that famous building. It resulted in the condemnation of the prisoner despite his powerful and eloquent appeal to his judges, the main portion of which is given below. He was executed on Tower Hill on May 12th, 1641.

DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGE OF TREASON

My Lords, I have all along, during this charge, watched to see that poisoned arrow of treason, which some men would fain have feathered in my heart; but, in truth,

it hath not been in my quickness to discover any such evil yet within my breast, though now, perhaps, by sinister information, sticking to my clothes.

They tell me of a two-fold treason—one against the Statute, another by the common law; this direct, that consecutive; this individual, that accumulative; this in itself, that by way of construction.

As to this charge of treason, I must and do acknowledge that if I had the least suspicion of my own guilt, I would save your lordships the pains. I would cast the first stone. I would pass the first sentence of condemnation against myself. And whether it be so or not, I now refer to your Lordship's judgment and deliberation. You, and you only, under the care and protection of my gracious master, are my judges. I shall ever celebrate the providence and wisdom of your noble ancestors, who have put the keys of life and death, so far as concerns you and your posterity, into your own hands. None but your own selves, my Lords, know the rate of your noble blood; none but yourselves must hold the balance in disposing of the same. . . .

My Lords, you see what has been alleged for this constructive, or rather destructive, treason. For my part, I have not the judgment to conceive that such treason is agreeable to the fundamental grounds either of reason or of law. Not of reason, for how can that be treason in the lump or mass which is not so in any of its parts? or how can that make a thing treasonable which is not so in itself? Not of law, since neither statute, common law, nor practice hath, from the beginning of the government, ever mentioned such a thing.

It is hard, my Lords, to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown! Where hath this fire lain hid for so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus bursts forth to consume me and my children? My Lords, do we not live under laws? and must we be punished by laws before they are made? Far better were it to live by no laws at all, but to be governed by those characters of virtue and discretion which Nature hath stamped upon us, than to put this necessity of divination upon a man, and to accuse him of a breach of law before it is a law at all! If a waterman upon the Thames split his boat by grating upon an anchor, and the same have no buoy appended to it, the owner of the anchor is to pay the loss; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now, where is the mark, where is the token set upon the crime to declare it to be high treason?

My Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law. If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be something else than the lives and honour of peers! It will be wisdom for yourselves and your posterity to cast into the fire those bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, which telleth what is and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. These gentlemen tell us that they speak in defence of the Commonwealth against my arbitrary laws. Give me leave to say I speak in defence of the Commonwealth against their arbitrary treason!

It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime to this height before myself. Let us not awaken those sleeping lions to our destruction, by taking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls for so many ages, forgotten or neglected.

My Lords, what is my present misfortune may be for ever yours! It is not the smallest part of my grief that not the crime of treason, but my other sins, which

are exceeding many, have brought me to this bar; and, except your Lordships' wisdom provide against it, the shedding of my blood may make way for the tracing out of yours. You, your estates, your posterity, lie at the stake!

For my poor self, if it were not for your Lordships' interest, and the interest of a saint in heaven, who hath left me here two pledges on earth,\* I should never take the pains to keep up this ruinous cottage of mine. It is loaded with such infirmities that, in truth, I have no great pleasure to carry it about with me any longer. Nor could I ever leave it at a fitter time than this, when I hope that the better part of the world would perhaps think that by my misfortunes I had given a testimony of my integrity to my God, my King, and my country. I thank God I count not the afflictions of the present life to be compared to that glory which is to be revealed in the time to come!

My Lords! my Lords! my Lords! something more I had intended to say, but my voice and my spirit fail me. Only I do, in all humility and submission, cast myself down at your Lordships' feet, and desire that I may be a beacon to keep you from shipwreck. Do not put such rocks in your own way which no prudence, no circumspection, can eschew or satisfy, but by your utter ruin!

And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I submit myself to your decision. And whether your judgment in my case—I wish it were not the case of you all—be for life or for death, it shall be righteous in my eyes, and shall be received with a *Te Deum laudamus*, we give God the praise.

#### HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, 1621-1682

"The Father of Equity." Born at Eastwell, in Kent, the son of Sir Heneage Finch, the Speaker of the House of Commons in the second Parliament of Charles I. Educated at Westminster and Christchurch, Oxford. Member of Parliament for Canterbury in the Convention Parliament; appointed Solicitor-General 1660, and Attorney-General 1670. Entrusted with the Great Seal on Nov. 9th, 1678. Presided in 1680 as Lord High Steward at the trial of Lord Stafford for complicity in the Popish Plot. His speech in passing sentence on the unfortunate few is given below.

#### CONDEMNATION OF LORD STAFFORD

My Lord Stafford, my part which remains is a very sad one; for I never yet gave sentence of death upon any man, and am extremely sorry that I must begin with your Lordship. Who would have thought that a person of your quality, of so noble an extraction, of so considerable estate and fortune, so eminent a sufferer in the late ill times, so interested in the preservation of the Government, so much obliged to the moderation of it, and so personally obliged to the King and his royal father for their particular favours to you, should ever have entered into so infernal a conspiracy as to contrive the murder of the King, the ruin of the State, the subversion of the religion, and, as much as in you lay, the destruction of all the souls and bodies of the Christian nations? And yet the impeachment of the House of Commons amounts to no less a charge, and of this charge your Lordships have found you guilty. That there hath been a general and desperate conspiracy of the Papists, and that the death of the King hath been all along one chief part of the conspirators' design, is now apparent beyond all possibility of doubting. . . .

My Lord, as the plot in general is most manifest, so your Lordship's part in it hath been too plain. What you did in Paris, and continued to do at Tixall, in

\* His motherless children who stood by his side.

Staffordshire, shows a settled purpose of mind against the King; and what you said at London touching honest Will, shows that you were acquainted with that conspiracy against the King's life which was carrying on here too: and in all this there was a great degree of malice; for your Lordship at one time called the King "*heretic*" and "*traitor to God*;" and at another time you reviled him for misplacing his bounty, and rewarding none but traitors and rebels. And thus, you see, that which the wise man forewarned you of is come upon you:—"Curse not the King, no, not in thy heart: for the birds of the air shall reveal, and that which hath wings will declare the matter."

Three things I shall presume to recommend to your Lordship's consideration. In the first place, your Lordship sees how it hath pleased God to leave you so far to yourself, that you are fallen into the snare and into the pit which you were digging for others. Consider, therefore, that God Almighty never yet left any man who did not first leave Him. In the next place, think a little better of it than hitherto you have done, what kind of religion that is, in which the blind guides have been able to lead you into so much ruin and destruction as is now like to befall you. In the last place, I pray your Lordship to consider that true repentance is never too late. A devout penitential sorrow, joined with an humble and hearty confession, is of mighty power and efficacy both with God and man. There have been some of late who have refused to give God the glory of His justice, by acknowledging the crimes for which they were condemned; nay, who have been taught to believe that it is a mortal sin to confess that crime in public for which they have been absolved in private, and so have not dared to give God that glory which otherwise they would have done. God forbid your Lordship should rest upon forms! God forbid your Lordship should be found among the number of those poor forsaken souls whom the first thing that undeceives is death itself! Perhaps your Lordship may not much esteem the prayers of those whom you have long been taught to miscall heretics; but whether you do or no, I am to assure your Lordship, that all my Lords here, even they that have condemned you, will never cease to pray for you, that the end of your life may be Christian and pious, how tragical soever the means are that must bring you thither. And now, my Lord, this is the last time that I can call you "*My Lord*," for the next words I am to speak will attain you. The judgment of the law is, and this Court doth award that, you go to the place from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution; when you come there, you must be hanged up by the neck, but not till you are dead, for you must be cut down alive, etc., etc.\*

\* This speech, which Evelyn says was delivered with "*greate solemnity and dreadful gravity*," was much esteemed at the time of its delivery. The House of Lords passed a vote of thanks to Nottingham for it and desired him to print it. \*

OLIVER CROMWELL, 1599-1658

**Lord Protector.** Born at Huntingdon, educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. As member of the Long Parliament took a leading part in the constitutional struggle precipitated by Charles I.'s arbitrary acts. On the outbreak of the Civil War he raised and commanded a troop of horse composed of men of strong religious opinions. With these "Ironsides" he gained great distinction, and he ultimately attained to the supreme control of the Parliamentary army. After the trial and execution of the King he completed the subjugation of Ireland, and routed the Scotch at Dunbar on Sept. 3rd, 1650. The final defeat of the Royalists at the battle of Worcester, Sept. 3rd, 1651, placed him in a position of commanding influence in the councils of the nation. But his ascendancy was not complete until 1658, when he forcibly dissolved the Long Parliament, and called a new Parliament, which gave him a practical dictatorship under the title of Lord Protector. After a period of masterly rule marked by high statesmanlike qualities, he died at Whitehall on Sept. 3rd, 1658 (the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester). His remains were interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, but on the Restoration his body was contumeliously ejected from the sacred building.

THE DESTINY OF THE NATION

WHEN I first met you in this room it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of—though not the greatest—yet a very great people, and the best people in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought it so : as a people that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely, religion : as a people that have been, like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other nations : and a people that have had a stamp upon them from God ; God having, as it were, summed up all our former honour and glory in the things that are of glory to nations, in an epitome within these ten or twelve years last past ! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And if I be not very much mistaken, we are arrived—as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think—at a very safe port ; where we might sit down and contemplate the dispensations of God and our mercies ; and might know our mercies not to have been like those of the ancients, who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endcavours ; who could not say as we, that all ours were let down to us from God Himself ! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any story.—*Speech to Parliament, Jan. 22nd, 1655.*

THE RAISING OF THE IRONSIDES

If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say that I do, "know my calling from the first to this day." I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater ; from my first being a captain of a troop of horse ; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust ; and God blessed me therein as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly—and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you. I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very



grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not. "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and," said I, "their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly did I tell him, "You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go—or else you will be beaten still." I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do something in it. I did so—"did this somewhat;" and truly I must needs say this to you, "The result was—impute it to what you please—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscious of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually.—*Speech to Cromwell's Second Parliament, April 13th, 1657.*

#### THE SPANIARD THE NATIONAL ENEMY\*

Now that which plainly seeks the destruction of the being of these nations is, out of doubt, the endeavour and design of all the common enemies of them. I think, truly, it will not be hard to find out who those enemies are, nor what hath made them so. I think they are all the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the enemies to the very being of these nations; and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them to all such things. Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His people, which they see to be more eminently, yea, more eminently patronised and professed in this nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the nations in the world: *this* is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our nation, against the very being of it. But we will not, I think, take up our time contemplating who these enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion; we will labour to *specificate* our enemies, to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and being of these three nations.

And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you about the same matter. For which above others, I think, you are called hither at this time: that I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these nations stand in from enemies abroad and at home, and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers—dangers which, say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no, strike at the very being and vital interest of these

\* This and the subsequent extracts are from Cromwell's speech to the House of Commons in 1656, of which Carlyle thus enthusiastically speaks: "No royal speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere in the world. It is, with all its prudence—and it is very prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal to spirit—perhaps the most artless, transparent piece of public speaking this editor has ever studied; rude, massive, genuine; like a block of unbeaten gold."

nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect : in respect, namely, of the enemies you are engaged with ; and how you come to be engaged with those enemies, and how they come to be, *as heartily*, I believe, engaged against you.

Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so ; he is naturally so throughout, by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. Whatsoever is of God which is in *you*, or which may be in you ; contrary to that which *his* blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the see of Rome, actuate him unto. With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how. For we are ready to excuse this and most of our actions, and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them, upon the ground of necessity. And the ground of necessity for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted law ; and if this or any other State should go about—as I know they never will—to make laws against events, against what *may* happen, then I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making laws against Providence ; events, and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

The Spaniard is your enemy ; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him, and also providentially, and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honourable peace from him ; it was sought by the Long Parliament ; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that, I do but say, He is naturally throughout *an enemy* ; an enmity is put into him by God. “ I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed ” (Gen. iii. 15) ; which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things. And he that considers not such natural enmity, the *providential* enmity, as well as the *accidental*, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so ; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach with the Spanish nation long ago.

#### FOR TOLERATION

As to those lesser distempers of people that pretend religion, yet which, from the whole consideration of religion, would fall under one of the heads of reformation, I had rather put these under this head ; and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken to already to-day elsewhere. I will tell you the truth. Our practice since the last Parliament hath been, to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves, and *not* to make religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, and not peaceable, let the pretence be never so specious, if it tended to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we meet withal, though never so specious, if they be not quiet. And truly I am against all “ liberty of conscience ” repugnant to *this*. If men will profess—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them, so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy

their own consciences. For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly "*this is the peculiar interest all this while contended for.*"

Men who believe in Jesus Christ—that is the form that gives being to true religion, namely, to faith in Christ, and walking in a profession answerable to that faith—men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ, who live upon the grace of God : those men who are certain they are so, they are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this faith, let his form be what it will, he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other forms ; it is a debt due to God and Christ ; and He will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty.

If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form ; if an Independent, for example, will despise him who is under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist judgment shall be censuring the godly ministers of the nation who profess under that of Independency ; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them—as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ—so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes on the ear, and rebukes, on the one hand and on the other ; some censuring me for Presbytery : others as an inlet to all the sects and heresies of the nation. I have borne my reproach ; but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering on one religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally) I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgment . . . I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many counties—I have had petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole counties ; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other counties. Acknowledgment that they, the Presbyterians there, do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments ; for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance ; and that, in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those petitions ; I have them to show. And I confess I look at that as the blessed thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, or which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to be the civil magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another, not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others, I think he that would have more liberty than this is not worthy of any.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the reformation of manners. And those abuses that are in this nation through disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts. It is that which, I am confident, is a description and character of the interest you have been engaged against the Cavalier interest ; the badge and character of countenancing profaneness, disorder, and wickedness in all places, and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is popery, and with the profane nobility and gentry of this nation. In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation. Whether "in Caesar's house" or elsewhere. It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man, and the badge of "Puritan" was put upon it. We would keep up nobility and gentry ; and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them

to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders. And you will hereby be as labourers in that work of keeping them up. And a man may tell us as plainly as can be what becomes of us if we grow indifferent and lukewarm in repressing evil, under I know not what weak pretensions. If it lives in us, therefore, I say, if it be in the general heart of the nation, it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity, depend upon—reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the nation, and by this will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits, which *are* the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very faint see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief.

A PLEA FOR NATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

Now if I had the tongue of an angel; if I was so certainly inspired as the holy men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His cause, which we have all been engaged in, if I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this nation. If *not*, you plunge it, to all human appearance, it and all interests, yea, and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin.

Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, show yourselves to be men; "quit yourselves like men." It doth not infer any reproach if you do show yourselves men: *Christian* men, *which* alone will make you "quit yourselves." I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that church: it was "lukewarm," and therefore He would "spew it out of His mouth." It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the *wrong* way. Men are in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder, if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate interests,—such, give me leave to think, are the popish interests. For the apostle brands them so, "having seared consciences." Though I do not judge every man—but the ringleaders are such. The Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on. It is men in a Christian state, who have *works* with *faith*, who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission of sins, till a man be brought to "glory in hope." Such a hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to; and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings, wherein the providence of God hath set and called you to this work, so many will carry it on. . . .

I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome; but I did read a psalm yesterday, which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the eighty-fifth Psalm; it is very instructive and significant; and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. . . .

Truly I wish that this psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, "*Thou hast done this,*" and "*Thou hast done that;*" "*Thou hast pardoned our sins; Thou hast taken away our iniquities!*" Whither can we go to a better God? For "*He hath done it.*" It is to Him any nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? "*By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!*" If we can but cry unto Him, He will "*turn and take away our sins.*"

Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, "for He will speak peace unto His people." If you be the people of God, He will speak *peace*; and we will not turn again to folly.

"Folly!" a great deal of grudging in the nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like. I do not think that these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we will not endure, for necessary ends, to be abridged of them. Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, "but He bears with them in France;" "they in France are so and so!" Have they *the* Gospel as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights. . . . If God give you a spirit of reformation, you will preserve this nation from "turning again" to these fooleries; and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "mercy and truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy!" They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be *merciful* as well as orthodox: and we know who it is that saith, "If a man could speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet want *that*, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal!"

Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this work. And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's psalm. That is a rare psalm for a Christian; and if he set his heart open, and can prove it to God, we *shall* hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." If Pope and Spaniard, and devil and all, set themselves against us, though they should "compass us like bees," as it is in the 118th Psalm, yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them. And, as it is in this psalm of Luther's: "We will not fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved." Then he repeats two or three times, "the Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge."—*Speech delivered at the Opening of Parliament, Sept. 17th, 1656.*

#### BROKEN PLEDGES

I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the governor and the governed, unless they would take an oath to make good what the Parliament's petition and advice advise me unto. Upon that I took an oath, and they took another oath upon their part, answerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what condition he swore? God knows I took it upon the conditions expressed in the act of Government, and I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom, and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be advised by the two Houses of Parliament; and we standing unsettled till we were arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted hereditary lords, nor hereditary kings, the power consisting in the two Houses and myself. I do not say that was the meaning of the oath to yourselves; that were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge between me and you. If there had been in you any intention of settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion.

God is my witness, I speak it; it is evident to all the world, and all

living, that a new business hath been seeking in the army against this actual settlement made by your own consent. I do not speak to these gentlemen or lords (*pointing to his right hand*), or whatsoever you will call them. I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into this place, to be in a capacity by your advice, yet, instead of owning a thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last session to this day, through the intention of devising a commonwealth again, that some of the people might be the men that might rule all; and they are endeavouring to engage the army to carry that thing. And hath that man been true to this nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been made among the army to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the army, that these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will. These things tend to nothing else but the playing the King of Scots game, if I may so call him, and I think myself bound to do what I can to prevent it.

That which I told you in the banqueting-house was true, that there were preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it has been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, that the King of Scots hath an army at the waterside, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into a tumulting. What if I had said into a rebellion? It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the army, while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about the commonwealth, but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any insurrection that may be made. And what is like to come upon this, the enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion? And if this be so, I do assign it to this cause—your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your petition and advice, as that which might be the settlement of the nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting, and I do dissolve this Parliament; and let God be judge between you and me.—*Speech on Dissolving Parliament, 1658.*

#### ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, 1621–1683

The eminent statesman. Born at Wimborne St. Giles, Dorsetshire, he studied at Exeter College, Oxford, and in 1638 entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He took part on the popular side in the Revolutionary War, but later veered round to the Royalist cause and was prominently concerned in bringing about the Restoration. For his services he was rewarded by Charles II. with the Governorship of the Isle of Wight and a peerage. In 1672 he was given the Lord Chancellorship with the title of Earl of Shaftesbury. His character is fully sketched by Dryden in his "Absalom and Achitophel." His influence in the National Councils during the next ten years was great; but falling into disfavour with the King he was sent to the Tower on a charge of treason. He was acquitted, but deemed it advisable subsequently to go into voluntary exile in Holland. He died at Amsterdam. His reputation lives, as that of one of the most brilliant speakers and eminent statesmen of the Restoration period.

#### CROMWELL'S HOUSE OF LORDS

WHAT I shall speak of their quality, or anything else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with distinction, and to intend only of the major part; for I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the mixture of the other House to be like the composition of apothecaries, who mix something grateful to the taste to qualify their bitter

drugs, which else, perhaps, would be immediately spit out and never swallowed. So, Sir, his Highness of deplorable memory to this nation, to countenance as well the want of quality as honesty in the rest, has nominated some against whom there lies no other reproach but only that nomination ; but not out of any respect to their quality or regard to their virtues, but out of regard to the no-quality, the no-virtues of the rest ; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express name to this other House than he hath been pleased to do ; for we know a house designed for beggars and malefactors is a house of correction, and so termed by our law. But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few persons aside who, I hope, think the nomination a disgrace, and their ever coming to sit there a much greater, can we without indignation, think of the rest ? He who is first in their roll, a condemned coward ;\* one that out of fear and baseness did once what he could to betray our liberties, and now does the same for gain. The second, a person of as little sense as honesty, preferred for no other reason but his no-worth, his no-conscience ; except cheating his father of all he had was thought a virtue by him, who by sad experience we find hath done so much for his mother—his country. The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, and Independent ; for the Republic, for a Protector, for everything, for nothing, but only that one thing—money. It were endless, Sir, to run through them all ; to tell you of the lordships of seventeen pounds a year land of inheritance ; of the farmer lordships, draymen lordships, cobblers lordships without one foot of land but what the blood of Englishmen has been the price of. These, sir, are to be our rulers ; these the judges of our lives and fortunes ; to these we are to stand bare whilst their pageant lordships deign to give us a conference on their breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much experience how insupportable servants are when they become our masters. All kinds of slavery are miserable in the account of generous minds ; but that which comes accompanied with scorn and contempt stirs up every man's indignation, and is endured by none whom Nature does not intend for slaves, as well as fortune. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these men the faults of their fortune any otherwise than as they make them their own ; I object to you their poverty, because it is accompanied with ambition ; I remind you of their quality, because they themselves forget it ; it is not the men I am angry with, but their Lordships. . . . I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the courage to do things which, I may boldly say, few other Christians durst so have adventured their souls to have attempted. They have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters that raised and maintained them ; they have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too, and there suppressed a malignant party of magistrates and laws ; and, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed complete conquerors, without the help of philosophy they have even conquered themselves. All shame they have subdued as perfectly as all justice ; the oaths they have taken they have as easily digested as their old general could himself ; public covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so entire a victory they have over themselves, and their consciences are as much their servants, Mr. Speaker, as they are. But give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shows the confidence they have of themselves and us. After having many times trampled on the authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the House of Commons, to be made a House of Lords.

\* Fiennes, condemned to death for cowardice at Bristol.

## A CRITICISM OF CHARLES II.'S ACTS AND POLICY

My Lords, this noble Lord near me hath found fault with that precedent which he supposes I offered to your lordships concerning the chargeable ladies at Court. I remember no such thing I said. But if I must speak of them, I shall say as the prophet did to King Saul, "*What meaneth this bleating of the cattle?*" and I hope the King will make the same answer, "*That he reserves them for sacrifice, and means to deliver them up to please his people;*" for there must be, in plain English, my Lords, a change. We must neither have a Popish favourite, nor Popish mistress, nor Popish counsellor at Court. What I spoke was about another lady, that belongs not to the Court, but, like Sempronia in Catilina's conspiracy, does more mischief than Cathegus. My Lords, it is a very hard thing to say we cannot trust the King, and that we have already been deceived so often, that we see plainly the apprehension of discontent is no argument at Court; and though our Prince be himself an excellent person that the people have the greater inclinations to love, yet I must say he is such an one as no story affords us a parallel of. The transactions between him and his brother are admirable and incomprehensible. The match with a Portugal lady, not likely to have children, was contrived by the Duke's father-in-law, and no sooner effected, but the Duke and his party make proclamation to the world that we are like to have no children, and that he must be the certain heir. He takes his seat in Parliament as Prince of Wales—has his guards about him—the Prince's lodgings at Whitehall—his guards on the same floor, without any interposition between him and the King. This Prince changes his religion to make himself a party, and such a party that his brother must be sure to die or be made away with to make room for him. The prorogations, the dissolutions, the cutting short of Parliaments—not suffering them to have time to look into anything—have showed what reason we have for confidence in the Court. We are now come to a Parliament again—by what fate or riddle, I cannot guess. The Duke is sent away; the House of Commons have brought up a bill to disable him of the Crown; and I think they are, so far, extremely in the right; but your Lordships are wiser than I, and have rejected it. Yet you have thought fit, and the King himself hath made the proposition, to adopt such expedients as shall render him but a nominal Prince. However, we know who hears us; and I am glad of this, that your Lordships have dealt so honourably and so clearly in the King's presence, that he cannot say he wants a right state of things. He hath it before him, and may take counsel as he thinks fit.—*Speech in the House of Lords, 1681.*

## WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL, 1639-1683

Eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, created Duke in 1694. He took a leading part in the movement for the exclusion of the Duke of York, and being charged with complicity in the Rye House Plot, was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey. He was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

## HIS DEFENCE

My Lord, I cannot but think myself very unfortunate in appearing at this place, charged with a crime of the blackest and wickedest nature, and that intermixed and intricated with the treasonable and horrid practices and speeches of other



men: and the King's learned counsel taking all advantages, improving and heightening every circumstance against me; and I myself no lawyer, a very unready speaker, and altogether a stranger to proceedings of this kind; besides, naked, without counsel, and one against many; so that I cannot but be very sensible of my inability to make my just defence. But you, my lords and judges, I hope, will be equal and of counsel for me; and I hope, likewise, that you, gentlemen of the jury (though strangers to me), are men of conscience, that value innocent blood, and do believe that with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again, either in this or in another world. Nor can I doubt, but you will consider the witnesses as persons that hope to save their own lives, by their swearing to take away mine. But to answer in short what is laid to my charge, I do in the first place declare that I have ever had a heart sincerely loyal and affectionate to the King and Government (which I look upon as the best of Governments), and have always as fervently wished and prayed for his Majesty's long life as any man living. And now to have it intimated as if I were agreeing or abetting to his murder (I must needs say) is very hard; for I have ever looked upon the assassination of any private person as an abominable, barbarous, and inhuman thing, tending to the destruction of all society; how much more the assassination of a Prince! which cannot enter into my thoughts without horror and detestation: especially considering him as my natural Prince, and one upon whose death such dismal consequences are but too likely to ensue. An action so abominably wicked, rash, and inconsiderate, that none but desperate wretches, or madmen, could contrive. And can it be believed that, my circumstances and the past actions of my life considered, I should be capable of being guilty of so horrid a design? Certainly it cannot. As for going about to make or raise a rebellion; that, likewise, is a thing so wicked, and withal impracticable, that it never entered into my thoughts. Had I been disposed to it, I never found by all my observation, that there was the least disposition or tendency to it in the people. And it is known, rebellion cannot be now made here, as in former times, by a few great men. I have been always for preserving the Government upon the due basis and ancient foundation; and for having things redressed in a legal parliamentary way; always against all irregularities and innovations whatsoever, and so I shall be, I am sure, to my dying day, be it sooner or later.—*Delivered at the Old Bailey, July 18th, 1688.*

#### JOHN HAMILTON, LORD BELHAVEN, 1656-1708 \*

A patriotic Scotch peer who distinguished himself by his resolute opposition to the Union with England. His notable speech in opposition to the Treaty of Union, given in part below, was accounted at the time a great piece of oratory. It was printed and circulated by the thousand throughout Scotland, and chronicled there as an almost inspired utterance. Lord Belhaven was taken prisoner in London in 1708, on suspicion of favouring the Pretender, and died on June 21st in that year immediately after his release, it is said from the disgrace of being dragged through the streets of the Metropolis like a common malefactor.

#### THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND—A PATRIOT'S DREAM

My Lord Chancellor, when I consider the affair of a union betwixt the two nations, as expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with a variety of melancholy thoughts;

\* Scott says that the effect of the harangue was some degree dispelled by Lord Marchmont, who, rising to reply, said that he too had been much struck by the noble lord's vision, but he conceived that the exposition of it might be given in a few words: "I awoke, and behold it was a dream."

and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them by laying them before, and exposing them to, the serious consideration of, this honourable House.

I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that which all the world hath been fighting for since the days of Nimrod ; yea, that for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and the dukedoms of Europe, are at this time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars ; to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and counsel of any other.

I think I see a national Church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and most pointed legal sanctions that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries.

I think I see the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own proper charges and expense, now divested of their followers and vassalages ; and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think I see a petty English exciseman receive more homage and respect than what was paid formerly to their *quondam* Mac-Callammores.

I think I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, overran countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now walking in the Court of Requests, like so many English attorneys ; laying aside their walking swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder.

I think I see the honourable estate of barons, the bold assertors of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips, and a guard upon their tongues, lest they may be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, a speaking evil of dignities.

I think I see the royal state of burghers walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads under disappointments wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become prentices to their unkind neighbours ; and yet, after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies, and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein.

I think I see our learned judges laying aside their pratiques and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with *certioraris nisi priuses*, writs of error, verdicts, injunctions, demurs, etc., and frightened with appeals and avocations, because of the new regulations and rectifications they may meet with.

I think I see the valiant and gallant soldiery either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a small subsistence, as a reward of their honourable exploits ; while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest English corps kept standing.

I think I see the honest industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactures, and answered by counter-petitions.

In short, I think I see the laborious ploughman, with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expense of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry or do worse.

I think I see the incurable difficulties of the landed men, fettered under the golden chain of "equivalents," their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employment.

I think I see our mariners delivering up their ships to their Dutch partners; and what through presses and necessity, earning their bread as underlings in the Royal English Navy!

But above all, my Lord, I think I see our ancient mother, Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garments, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with an *et tu quoque mi fili!*

Are not these, my Lord, very afflicting thoughts? And yet they are but the least part suggested to me by these dishonourable articles. Should not the consideration of these things vivify these dry bones of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' valour and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors' souls got so far into the English cabbage-stalk and cauliflowers, that we should show the least inclination that way? Are our eyes so blinded, are our ears so deafened, are our hearts so hardened, are our tongues so faltered, are our hands so fettered, that in this our day—I say, my Lord, in this *our* day—we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well-being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes?

No, my Lord, God forbid! Man's extremity is God's opportunity: He is a present help in time of need—a deliverer, and that right early! Some unforeseen providence will fall out, that may cast the balance; some Joseph or other will say, "Why do ye strive together, since ye are brethren?" None can destroy Scotland save Scotland's self. Hold your hands from the *pen*, and you are secure! There will be a Jehovah-Jireh; and some ram will be caught in the thicket, when the bloody knife is at our mother's throat. Let us, then, my Lord, and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and we know not how soon a blessing may come.—*Speech delivered in the Parliament of Scotland, Nov. 2nd, 1708.*

### WILLIAM III

#### SPEECH FROM THE THRONE, 1701-2 \*

My Lords and Gentlemen, I promise myself you are met together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and the resentment of the late proceedings of the French King, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people. The owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the Protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart; and to consider what further effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. By the French King placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it

\* This address, one of the most remarkable speeches from the throne ever delivered, was prepared by Lord Somers. It had a most inspiring effect upon the nation, which was aflame with excitement at the insolence of the French King in proclaiming as King of England the son of the then recently deceased James II. The message was circulated from hand to hand throughout the country, and copies of it were framed and preserved as precious relics of the King when death carried him off as it did a few months later.

as of his own dominions ; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconvenience of war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the valuable branches of it ; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue ; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe. It is fit I should tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament ; all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be lost. You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation ; but I will tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold of this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another. I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest, offences committed against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people : do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions ; let there be no other distinction heard of amongst us for the future but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a Popish Prince and a French Government.

## SIR RICHARD STEELE, 1672-1729

Essayist and wit. Born at Dublin, he was educated at the Charterhouse and at Merton College, Oxford. Endowed with fine natural literary gifts, he devoted his early years to dramatic compositions, producing in 1701 with much success his comedy, "*The Funeral, or, Grief à la Mode*." Subsequently he was associated with Addison in the publication of the *Taller*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian*. He was returned to Parliament as member for Stockbridge in 1700, but was expelled by vote of the House for his writings. His speech in his defence on the occasion, an extract from which appears below, was a brilliant piece of oratory, though it failed to produce any effect on the virulent partisanship of the House. On the accession of George I. he obtained a lucrative office under the Crown, and re-entered Parliament in 1715 as member for Boroughbridge. He was knighted in the same year.

ON THE MOTION FOR HIS EXPULSION FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, *March 18th*,  
1713-14.

I HAVE heard it said in this place that no private man ought to take the liberty of expressing his thoughts, as I have done in matters relating to the Administration. I do own that no private man ought to take a liberty, which is against the laws of the land. But, Sir, I presume that the liberty I have taken is a legal liberty, and obnoxious to no penalty in any court of justice ; if it had, I cannot believe that this extraordinary method would have been made use of to distress me upon that account. And why should I here suffer for having done that which perhaps in a future trial would not be judged criminal by the laws of the land ? Why should I see persons whose particular province it is to prosecute seditious writers in the courts of justice, employing their eloquence against me in this place ? I think that I have not offended against any law in being : I think that I have taken no more liberty than what is consistent with the laws of the land ; if I have, let me be tried by those laws. Is not the executive power sufficiently armed to inflict

a proper punishment on all kinds of criminals? Why, then, should one part of the legislative power take this executive power into its own hands? But, Sir, I throw myself upon the honour of this House, who are able, as well as obliged, to screen any commoner of England from the wrath of the most powerful man in it, and who will never sacrifice a member of their own body to the resentment of any single Minister.

### FRANCIS ATTERBURY, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, 1662-1782

A native of Middleton, in Buckinghamshire. He was educated (under Dr. Busby) at Westminster School, and at Oxford. Ordained in 1691, he became Dean of Christ Church in 1711, and Bishop of Rochester in 1713. His refusal to sign the Declaration against Rebellion led to his committal to the Tower on a charge of high treason in 1722. He made a masterly defence at his trial before the House of Lords on May 11th, 1723, but was convicted and condemned to exile. His death occurred at Paris.

#### DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGE OF TREASON

DOUBTLESS the Legislature is without bounds. It may do what it pleases; and whatever it does is binding. Nay, in some respects it has greater power (with reverence be it spoken) than the Sovereign Legislator of the universe; for He can do nothing unjustly. But though no limits can be set to Parliaments, yet they have generally thought fit to prescribe limits to themselves, and so to guide even their proceedings by bill in criminal cases, as to depart as little as is possible from the known laws and usages of the realm. The Parliament may, if it pleases, by a particular act, order a criminal to be tortured who will not confess; for who shall gainsay them? But they never did it, nor, I presume, ever will; because torture, though practised in other countries, is unknown in ours, and repugnant to the temper and genius of our mild and free government; and yet, my Lords, it looks, methinks, somewhat like torture, to inflict grievous pains and penalties on a person only suspected of guilt, but not legally proved guilty, in order to extort some confession or discovery from him. This, in other countries, is called putting to the question; and it matters not much by what engines or methods such an experiment is made.

The Parliament may, if it pleases, by an express law, adjudge a man to absolute perpetual imprisonment, as well as to perpetual exile, without reserving to the Crown any power of determining such imprisonment. They have enacted the one; I find not they ever enacted the other. And the reason seems to have been because our law, which above all others provides for the liberty of the subject's person, knows nothing of such absolute perpetual imprisonment.

The Parliament may in like manner condemn a man upon a charge of accumulative and constructive treason. They did so once, in the case of the Earl of Strafford; but they repented of it afterwards, and ordered all the records and proceedings of Parliament relating thereto to be wholly cancelled, defaced, and obliterated, to the intent the same might not be visible in after-ages, or brought into example to the prejudice of any person whatsoever. My Lords, it was the fate of that great person thus to fall by accumulative and constructive treason. A much less now stands before you, who is attacked by accumulative and constructive proofs of his guilt; that is, by such proofs as in themselves, and when taken singly and apart, are allowed to prove nothing; but when taken together, and well interpreted and explained, are said to give mutual light and strength to each other, and by the help of certain inferences and deduction, to have the force,

though not the formality, of legal evidence. Will such proofs be ever admitted by your Lordships, in order to deprive a fellow-subject of his fortunes, his fame, his friends, and his country, and send him in his old age, without language, without limbs, without health, and without a provision for the necessities of life, to live, or rather starve, amongst foreigners? I say again, God forbid!

My ruin is not of that moment to any man, or any number of men, as to make it worth their while to violate (or even seem to violate) the Constitution in any degree to procure it. In preserving and guarding that against all attempts, the safety and the happiness of every Englishman lies. But when once, by such extraordinary steps as these, we depart from the fixed rules and forms of justice, and try untrodden paths, no man knows whither they will lead him, or where he shall be able to stop, when pressed by the crowd that follow him.

Though I am worthy of no regard, though whatever is done to me may be looked upon as just, yet your Lordships will have some regard to your own lasting interests, and those of the State, and not introduce into criminal cases a sort of evidence with which our Constitution is not acquainted, and which, under the appearance of supporting it at first, may be afterwards made use of (I speak my honest fears) gradually to undermine and destroy it.

For God's sake, my Lords, lay aside these extraordinary proceedings! set not these new and dangerous precedents! And I for my part will voluntarily and cheerfully go into perpetual exile, and please myself with the thought that I have in some measure preserved the Constitution by quitting my country; and I will live, wherever I am, praying for its prosperity, and die with the words of Father Paul in my mouth, which he used of the Republic of Venice, *Esto perpetua!* The way to perpetuate it is, not to depart from it. Let me depart, but let that continue fixed on the immovable foundations of law and justice, and stand for ever. . . .

Had, indeed, the charge been as fully proved as it is strongly asserted, it had been in vain to think of encountering well-attested facts by protestations to the contrary, though never so solemnly made. But, as that charge is enforced by slights and probabilities, and cannot be disproved in many circumstances without proving a negative, your Lordships will, in such a case, allow the solemn asseverations of a man, in behalf of his own innocence, to have their due weight. And I ask no more of God than to grant them as much influence with you as they have truth in themselves.

If, after all, it shall be still thought by your Lordships that there is any seeming strength in any of the proofs produced against me; if by private persuasions of my guilt, founded on unseen, unknown motives, which ought not certainly to influence public judgment; if by any reasons and necessities of State (of the expedience, wisdom, and justice of which I am no competent judge) your Lordships shall be induced to proceed on this Bill, and to pass it in any shape, I shall dispose myself quietly and patiently to submit to what is determined. God's will be done! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; and (whether in giving or taking) blessed be the name of the Lord!—*Part of Speech delivered in the House of Lords on the occasion of his Impeachment, May 11th, 1728*

## WILLIAM, FIRST EARL COWPER, 1665-1723

**Lord Chancellor.** The son of Sir William Cowper, M.P. for Hertford. After a distinguished career at the Bar (he was called in 1688, and took silk in 1694), he in 1705 succeeded Sir Nathan Wright as Lord Keeper. He was one of the Commissioners for the union with Scotland, and after the completion of the negotiations for the union was appointed first Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. He presided at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell in 1710. On the dismissal of Lord Godolphin he elected to go into retirement. He resumed office on Sept. 21st, 1714, and as Lord Chancellor presided at the trial of the Rebel Lords, delivering on the occasion an impressive address which for long was regarded as a model of forensic eloquence. He retained the seals until 1718, when he again resigned office. Afterwards he distinguished himself by his uncompromising opposition to the South Sea Bill.

## SENTENCE ON THE REBEL LORDS \*

You stand impeached by the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, of high treason in imagining and compassing the death of his most sacred Majesty, in levying war against him, and proclaiming a pretender to his crown to be King of these realms. There is nothing unusual or disadvantageous to you in this mode of proceeding. The whole body of the Commons of Great Britain, by their representatives, are your accusers, and the resolution thus to put you on your trial passed the Lower House, no one contradicting. You would have been sure of a patient and impartial trial by your Peers forming this august assembly; but you have severally admitted the truth of the charges alleged against you, accompanying your pleas with some variety of matter to mitigate your offences, and to obtain mercy. The circumstances said to have attended your surrender I do not now notice, and all due weight will be given to them; but it is fit that I should make some observations to your Lordships on your attempt to extenuate your guilt to the end that the judgment to be given against you may clearly appear to be just and righteous as well as legal.

It is alleged by some of your Lordships that you engaged in this rebellion without previous concert or deliberation, and without suitable preparation of men, horses, and arms. If this exempts you from the charge of being the planners of the treason, it aggravates your criminality in the execution of it, and shows that you were so eagerly bent on insurrection, that at the first invitation you flew into the field without any reasonable hope of success, and reckless of the ruin in which you were to involve yourselves, your friends, and your kindred. Another extenuation you rely upon is, that no cruel or harsh action (I suppose is meant no rapine, or plunder, or worse) has been committed by you. But your Lordships will consider that the laying waste a tract of land bears a little proportion, in point of mischief, compared with the crime of which you stand convicted—an open attempt to destroy the best of Kings, and to raze the foundation of a Government the most suited of any in the world to perfect the happiness and to support the dignity of human nature. Besides, much of this was owing to accident; your march was so hasty, partly to avoid the King's troops, and partly from the vain hope to stir up risings in all the counties you passed through, that you had not time to spread devastation without deviating from your main and (as I have observed) much worse design. No, my Lords, these and suchlike are artful colourings, proceeding from minds filled with expectation of continuing in this world, and not from such as are pre-

he Earl of Derwentwater, the Earl of Nithisdale, the Earl of Carnworth, Viscount Kenmare, Lord Widrington, and Lord Nairn, who participated in the rising of 1715. The trial took place in Westminster Hall on Feb. 9th, 1716.

paring for their defence before a tribunal where the thoughts of the heart, and the true springs and causes of action, must be laid open. . . .

It is a trite, but very true remark, that there are but a few hours between Kings reduced under the power of pretenders to their crown and their graves. Had you succeeded, his Majesty's case would, I fear, have hardly been an exception to that general rule, since it is highly improbable that flight would have saved any of that illustrious and valiant family. It is a further aggravation, that his Majesty, whom your Lordships would have dethroned, affected not the Crown by force or by arts of ambition, but succeeded peaceably and legally to it. On the decease of the late Queen without issue, he became undoubtedly the next in the course of descent capable of succeeding to the Crown by the law and constitution of this kingdom. The right of the House of Hanover was limited and confirmed by the Legislature in two successive reigns. How could it, then, enter into the heart of man to think that private persons might, with a good conscience, endeavour to subvert such a settlement by running to tumultuary arms, and by intoxicating the dregs of the people with contradictory opinions and groundless slanders? . . . And now, my Lords, nothing remains but that I pronounce upon you (and sorry I am that it falls to my lot to do it) that terrible sentence of the law, which must be the same that is usually given against the meanest offenders in the like kind. The most ignominious and painful parts of it are usually remitted by the grace of the Crown to persons of your quality; but the law in this case, being deaf to all distinctions of persons, requires I should pronounce, and accordingly it is adjudged by this Court that you, James, Earl of Merwentwater, etc., etc.

#### BISHOP ATTERBURY'S IMPEACHMENT \*

I am, my Lords, against this bill not only because I think nothing has been offered sufficient for the support of it, but because I think the honour and dignity of the Crown, the dignity and authority of this House, and the credit and reputation of the House of Commons, concerned in the event of it. My Lords, the proceedings of that House have been in this case very remarkable and uncommon. They voted the bishop guilty of high treason, the very first thing they did, and it was reasonable to expect that the consequence of that vote would have been an order for an impeachment in Parliament, or a prosecution in the ordinary course of law. But, my Lords, we see they have taken another method, and that without weighing what the consequences might be. They have taken a method whereby they have made themselves both judges and accusers. They could not, as judges, decently proceed against the bishop without hearing him, and therefore they gave him a day for that purpose, and thereby they discovered the dilemma into which they had run themselves. They found themselves obliged to hear him, and yet they could not acquit him, because they had already prejudged him. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that they have passed this bill. . . . The objections that concern the King appear to me to be unanswerable, not only with regard to this bill, but to all bills of attainder in general. I think they ought never to be allowed, but when the offender flies from justice or is in open rebellion, and perhaps the notoriety of the fact may be some excuse for the extraordinariness of the proceeding.

For, my Lords, is it come to this at last; that, after so much grimace, so much

\* This speech was delivered on the third reading of the bill for the impeachment of Bishop Atterbury for treason. The utterance is one of the most perfect and interesting specimens of Lord Cowper's parliamentary eloquence. Though it failed to secure the defeat of the measure it produced a great impression.



noise and stir, after committing the bishop for high treason, after voting him a traitor and treating him as such, must it at length come out that there is no legal evidence against him? To palliate the matter a little, a distinction is endeavoured to be made between legal evidence and real evidence, or between such evidence, as our law requires, and such as, in natural justice and equity, ought to be admitted. But, my Lords, this is a distinction without a difference: for what is evidence of a fact before any judicature whatsoever, but such testimony as the nature of the case requires to induce a moral certainty of the truth of the thing testified? The greater or less consequence the case is of, the more or less proof is required to induce such certainty.

One of the learned gentlemen at the bar, I suppose out of pure zeal for this bill, and not with a design to misguide his audience, did roundly affirm before your Lordships that no evidence, strictly speaking, was legal but what was mathematical. I am confident that gentleman would not have given this as his opinion, under his hand at his chamber, because he knows it is directly contrary to truth. He knows very well that no offender that puts himself upon his trial can be convicted but upon the oath of one or more witnesses; he dares not deny but that such conviction is founded upon legal evidence, strictly so speaking, and no one will pretend to say that any evidence of witnesses can be called mathematical. . . .

But, my Lords, this is not the first instance wherein I have observed judgment and opinion to be confounded and mistaken, the one for the other, and that, too, in a very gross and dangerous manner. My Lords, men's opinions, generally speaking, are nothing else but their fancies or imaginations, and are usually grounded upon personal pique or party prejudice; these are weak and slender foundations, and have nothing to do, and I hope, in England, never will have anything to do, where a man's life, his liberty, or his property is concerned. But, my Lords, a man forms his judgment according to the evidence that is offered him; that alone is his rule, and as the perspicuity or uncertainty of that appears, justice requires a determination accordingly. But, as the bishop's case now stands, the evidence of his guilt appears very dark, and, for aught I can observe, is like to continue so.

My Lords, I have now done, and if upon this occasion I have tried your patience, or discovered a warmth unbecoming me, your Lordships will impute it to the concern I am under lest, if this bill should pass, it should become a dangerous precedent for after-ages. My zeal as an Englishman for the good of my country obliges me to set my face against oppression in every shape, and wherever I think I meet with it (it matters not whether one man or five hundred be the oppressors), I shall be sure to oppose it with all my might: for vain will be the boast of the excellency of our Constitution, in vain shall we talk of liberty and property, secured to us by laws, if a precedent shall be established to strip us of both, where both law and evidence are confessedly wanting. My Lords, upon the whole matter, I take this bill to be derogatory to the dignity of Parliament in general, to the dignity of this House in particular. I take the pains and penalties in it to be much greater or much less than the bishop deserves. I take every individual branch of the charge against him to be unsupported by any evidence whatsoever. I think there are no grounds for any private opinion of the bishop's guilt but what arises from private prejudice only. I think private prejudice has nothing to do with judicial proceedings; I am, therefore, for throwing out this bill.

# SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, FIRST EARL OF ORFORD, 1676-1745

A great statesman and parliamentarian of the reigns of Queen Anne and the first and second Georges; a native of Houghton, in Norfolk; educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Entering Parliament in 1700, he became in 1708 Secretary for War, and in 1710 Treasurer of the Navy. When the Whig Ministry was dissolved he was committed to the Tower on a charge of breach of trust. He assumed office again on the accession of George I. in 1720, and two years later on the retirement of Lord Sunderland he was created Premier, occupying that great position for twenty years—a longer continuous period than the supreme office has been filled by any other statesman. The last years of his official life were stormy ones. Violent political antagonism culminated in a motion for the Minister's impeachment. Resigning in 1742, he was created Earl of Orford. He died three years later at his seat in Norfolk.

History has handed down to us an impression of a strong, good-humoured, and politically unscrupulous man. Pope has sketched him in these well-known lines :

“ Seen him I have, but in his happier hour  
Of social pleasure, ill exchanged for power ;  
Seen him unencumbered with the venal tribe,  
Smile without art and win without a bribe.”

## STURDY BEGGARS

“ Late years I have dwelt but little in the study of history, but I have a very good prompter behind me (Sir Philip Yorke, the Attorney-General), and by this means I can recollect that the case of *“ Empson and Dudley ”* was so different from anything that can possibly be presumed from the case now before us, that I wonder how it was possible to bring them into the debate. Those men had, by virtue of old and obsolete laws, unjustly extorted great sums of money from people, under pretence that they had become liable to penalties for the breach of statutes which had for many years fallen into disuse. I must say, (and I hope most of those who hear me will think) that it is very unjust to draw any parallel between their characters and mine. If my character is, or should ever come to be, in any respect like theirs, I have deserved their fate. But while I know myself innocent, I shall depend upon the protection of the laws of my country; as long as they can protect me I am satisfied, and if that protection should fail, I am prepared to submit to the worst that can befall me. I know that my political and ministerial life has by some gentlemen been justly viewed as an end, but they may ask their own disappointed hearts, how very different their wishes have been; and as for my natural life, I have lived long enough to be easy about parting with it. Gentlemen may say what they please of the multitudes now at our door, and in all the avenues leading to this House. They may call them a modest multitude if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited so long at our door. It may be very easy for some designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them, and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end; he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could with the same ease appease them. For this reason, I think it was neither regular nor prudent to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit; it may be said they came here as humble

\* In a speech to which this utterance of Walpole was a reply, Sir William Wyndham had alluded to Empson and Dudley, who, to gratify the avarice of their master, drained the purses of his subjects, not by new taxes, but by a severe and rigorous execution of the laws that had been enacted.

supplicants, but I know whom the law calls *sturdy beggars*, and those who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the same manner.—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1788, in defence of the Excise Bill, a measure which excited violent opposition. The debate on the scheme attracted angry crowds to the House, and on leaving for home at its conclusion Walpole was subjected to personal violence. The Bill was subsequently withdrawn.*

#### THE LICENSE OF THE PRESS

Sir, you have with great justice punished some persons for forging the names of gentlemen on the backs of letters ; but the abuse now complained of is, I conceive, a forgery of a worse kind ; for it tends to misrepresent the sense of Parliament, and impose upon the understanding of the whole nation. It is but a petty damage that can arise from a forged frank when compared with the infinite mischief that may be derived from this practice. I have read some debates of this House, Sir, in which I have been made to speak the very reverse of what I meant. I have read others, wherein all the wit, learning, and argument have been thrown into one side, and, on the other, nothing but what was low, mean, and ridiculous ; and yet when it comes to the question the division has gone against the side which, upon the face of the debate, had reason and justice to support it. So that, had I been a stranger to the proceedings, and to the nature of the arguments themselves, I must have thought this to have been one of the most contemptible assemblies on the face of the earth. What notion, then, Sir, can the public, who have no other means of being informed of the debates of this House than what they have from their papers, entertain of the wisdom and abilities of an assembly who are represented to carry every point against the strongest and the plainest argument and appearance ? . . .—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1788, on a motion to enforce the Standing Orders of the House against the publication of debate. The House resolved unanimously, "That it is a high indignity to, and a notorious breach of privilege of, this House, for any news-writer in letters or other papers . . . to presume to insert in the said letters or papers or to give therein any account of the debates or other proceedings of this House or any Committee thereof, as well during the recess as the sitting of Parliament ; and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offenders."*

#### ON MAKING WAR

It is, without doubt, a very popular way of arguing to talk highly of the honour, the courage, and the superior power of this nation ; and I believe I have as good an opinion of the honour, courage, and power of this nation as any man can, or ought to have ; but other nations must be supposed to have honour as well as we, and all nations generally have a great opinion of their courage and power. If we should come to an open rupture with Spain, we might in all probability have the advantage ; but victory and success do not always attend upon that side which seems to be the most powerful. Therefore, an open rupture, or declared war between two potent nations, must always be allowed to be an affair of the utmost importance to both ; and as this may be the consequence of our present deliberations, we ought to proceed with great coolness and with the utmost caution.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on March 8th, 1788, on the question of the Spanish depredations in America.*

DEFENCE OF HIS POLICY\*

It has been observed by several gentlemen, in vindication of this motion, that if it should be carried, neither my life, liberty, nor estate will be affected. But do the honourable gentlemen consider my character and reputation as of no moment? Is it no imputation to be arraigned before this House, in which I have sat forty years, and to have my name transmitted to posterity with disgrace and infamy? I will not conceal my sentiments, that to be *named* in Parliament as a subject of inquiry, is to me a matter of great concern. But I have the satisfaction, at the same time, to reflect that the impression to be made depends upon the consistency of the charge and the motives of the prosecutors.

Had the charge been reduced to specific allegations, I should have felt myself called upon for a specific defence. Had I served a weak or wicked master, and implicitly obeyed his dictates, obedience to his commands must have been my only justification. But as it has been my good fortune to serve a master who wants no bad Ministers, and would have hearkened to none, my defence must rest on my own conduct. The consciousness of innocence is also a sufficient support against my present prosecutors. A further justification is derived from a consideration of the views and abilities of the prosecutors. Had I been guilty of great enormities, they want neither zeal and inclination to bring them forward, nor ability to place them in the most prominent point of view. But as I am conscious of no crime, my own experience convinces me that none can be justly imputed.

I must therefore ask the gentlemen, from whence does this attack proceed? From the passions and prejudices of the parties combined against me, who may be divided into three classes, the Boys, the riper Patriots, and the Tories. The Tories I can easily forgive. They have unwillingly come into the measure; and they do me honour in thinking it necessary to remove me, as their only obstacle. What, then, is the inference to be drawn from these premises? That demerit with my opponents ought to be considered as merit with others. But my great and principal crime is my long continuance in office; or, in other words, the long exclusion of those who now complain against me. This is the heinous offence which exceeds all others. I keep from them the possession of that power, those honours, and those emoluments to which they so ardently and pertinaciously aspire. I will not attempt to deny the reasonableness and necessity of a party war; but, in carrying on that war, all principles and rules of justice should not be departed from. The Tories must confess that the most obnoxious persons have felt few instances of extra-judicial power. Wherever they have been arraigned, a plain charge has been exhibited against them. They have had an impartial trial, and have been permitted to make their defence. And will they, who have experienced this fair and equitable mode of proceeding, act in direct opposition to every principle of justice, and establish this fatal precedent of parliamentary inquisition? Whom would they conciliate by a conduct so contrary to principle and precedent? . . .

In party contests, why should not both sides be equally steady? Does not a Whig Administration as well deserve the support of the Whigs as the contrary? Why is not *principle* the cement in one as well as the other; especially when my

\* Speech made in the House of Commons in Feb., 1741, on the motion by Sandys, the leader of the Opposition, for an address to the King for his removal from office. The brilliant defence made by Walpole temporarily turned the tide of opinion in his favour, and the motion was negatived, but he was shortly afterwards compelled to resign office.

opponents confess that all is levelled against one man? Why this one man? Because they think, vainly, nobody else could withstand them. All others are treated as tools and vassals. The one is the corrupter; the numbers corrupted. But whence this cry of corruption, and exclusive claim of honourable distinction? Compare the estates, characters, and fortunes of the Commons on one side with those on the other. Let the matter be fairly investigated. Survey and examine the individuals who usually support the measures of Government, and those who are in opposition. Let us see to whose side the balance preponderates. Look round both Houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talents preponderates! Are all these on one side, and not on the other? Or are all these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to the exclusive title of patriotism! Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism. A venerable word, when duly practised. But I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, Sir! Why, patriots spring up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts. This pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and disappointed ambition. There is not a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition. . . .

If my whole administration is to be scrutinised and arraigned, why are the most favourable parts to be omitted? If facts are to be accumulated on one side, why not on the other? And why may not I be permitted to speak in my own favour? Was I not called by the voice of the King and the nation to remedy the fatal defects of the South Sea project, and to support declining credit? Was I not placed at the head of the Treasury when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is credit revived, and does it now flourish? Is it not at an incredible height? and if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved both at home and abroad, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has the true interest of the nation been pursued, or has trade flourished? Have gentlemen produced one instance of this exorbitant power; of the influence which I extend to all parts of the nation; of the tyranny with which I oppress those who oppose, and the liberality with which I reward those who support me? But having first invested me with a kind of mock dignity, and styled me a prime minister, they impute to me an unpardonable abuse of that chimerical authority which they only have created and conferred. If they are really persuaded that the army is annually established by me, that I have the sole disposal of posts and honours, that I employ this power in the destruction of liberty and the diminution of commerce, let me awaken them from their delusion. Let me expose to their view the real condition of the public weal. Let me show them that the Crown has made no encroachments, that all supplies have been granted by Parliament, that all questions have been debated with the same freedom as before the fatal period in which my counsels are said to have gained the ascendancy—an ascendancy from which they deduce the loss of trade, the approach of slavery, the preponderance of prerogative, and the extension of influence. But I am far from believing that they feel those apprehensions which they so earnestly labour to communicate to others; and I have too high an opinion of their sagacity not to conclude that, even in their own judgment, they are complaining of grievances

that they do not suffer, and promoting rather private interest than that of the public.

What is this unbounded sole power which is imputed to me? How has it discovered itself, or how has it been proved?

What have been the effects of the corruption, ambition, and avarice with which I am so abundantly charged?

Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? A strange phenomenon, a corrupter himself not corrupt! Is ambition imputed to me? Why, then, do I still continue a Commoner? I, who refused a white staff and a peerage? I had, indeed, like to have forgotten the little ornament about my shoulders [the garter], which gentlemen have so repeatedly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. But surely, though this may be regarded with envy or indignation in another place, it cannot be supposed to raise any resentment in *this* House, where many may be pleased to see those honours which their ancestors have worn restored again to the Commons.

Have I given any symptoms of an avaricious disposition? Have I obtained any grants from the Crown since I have been placed at the head of the Treasury? Has my conduct been different from that which others in the same station would have followed? Have I acted wrong in giving the place of auditor to my son, and in providing for my own family? I trust that their advancement will not be imputed to me as a crime, unless it shall be proved that I placed them in offices of trust and responsibility for which they were unfit.

But while I unequivocally deny that I am sole and prime minister, and that to my influence and direction all the measures of the Government must be attributed, yet I will not shrink from the responsibility which attaches to the post I have the honour to hold; and should, during the long period in which I have sat upon this bench, any one step taken by Government be proved to be either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation, I am ready to hold myself accountable.

To conclude, Sir, though I shall always be proud of the honour of any trust or confidence from his Majesty, yet I shall always be ready to remove from his councils and presence when he thinks fit; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the event of the present question, if it were not for the encroachment that will thereby be made upon the prerogatives of the Crown. But I must think that an address to his Majesty to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogatives of the Crown. And therefore, for the sake of my master, without any regard for my own, I hope all those that have a due regard for our Constitution, and for the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, without which our Constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion.

## LAURENCE STERNE, 1713-1768

Author and divine. A native of Clonmel, in Ireland, he was educated at Halifax and Jesus College, Cambridge. Through the influence of a relative he obtained the living of Sutton and a prebendal stall at York. The publication of "Tristram Shandy," the first part of which was issued in 1759, brought him enduring fame as an author. A sojourn of two years on the Continent resulted in the production, in 1768, of the whimsical "Sentimental Journey," which had immense vogue at the time and is still widely read and appreciated by all lovers of literary style and racy humour. His powers as a preacher were considerable, but it is as an author that he is chiefly remembered.

## THE HOUSE OF MOURNING

LET us go into the house of mourning, made so by such afflictions as have been brought in merely by the common cross accidents and disasters to which our condition is exposed—where, perhaps, the aged parents sit broken-hearted, pierced to their souls with the folly and indiscretion of a thankless child—the child of their prayers, in whom all their hopes and expectations centred: perhaps a more affecting scene—a virtuous family lying pinched with want, where the unfortunate support of it, having long struggled with a train of misfortunes, and bravely fought up against them, is now piteously borne down at the last, overwhelmed with a cruel blow which no forecast or frugality could have prevented. O God! look upon his afflictions. Behold him distracted with many sorrows, surrounded with the tender pledges of his love and the partner of his cares, without bread to give them, unable, from the remembrance of better days, to dig; to beg, ashamed.

When we enter into the house of mourning such as this, it is impossible to insult the unfortunate, even with an improper look. Under whatever levity and dissipation of heart such objects catch our eyes, they catch likewise our attentions, collect and call home our scattered thoughts, and exercise them with wisdom. A transient scene of distress, such as is here sketched, how soon does it furnish materials to set the mind at work; how necessarily does it engage it to the consideration of the miseries and misfortunes, the dangers and calamities to which the life of man is subject. By holding up such a glass before it, it forces the mind to see and reflect upon the vanity—the perishing condition and uncertain tenure of everything in this world. From reflections of this serious cast, how insensibly do the thoughts carry us further; and from considering what we are, what kind of world we live in, and what evils befall us in it, how naturally do they set us to look forward at what possibly we shall be; for what kind of world we are intended; what evils may befall us there; and what provision we should make against them here, whilst we have time and opportunity.

If these lessons are so inseparable from the house of mourning here supposed, we shall find it a still more instructive school of wisdom when we take a view of the place in that more affecting light in which the wise man seems to confine it in the text, in which, by the house of mourning, I believe he means that particular scene of sorrow where there is lamentation and mourning for the dead.

Turn in hither, I beseech you, for a moment. Behold a dead man ready to be carried out, the only son of his mother, and she a widow. Perhaps a more affecting spectacle—a kind and indulgent father of a numerous family lies breathless—snatched away in the strength of his age—torn in an evil hour from his children and the bosom of a disconsolate wife.

Behold much people of the city gathered together to mix their tears, with settled sorrow in their looks, going heavily along to the house of mourning, to perform that last melancholy office which, when the debt of nature is paid, we are called upon to pay to each other.

If this sad occasion, which leads him there, has not done it already, take notice to what a serious and devout frame of mind every man is reduced, the moment he enters this gate of affliction. The busy and fluttering spirits which in the house of mirth were wont to transport him from one diverting object to another—see how they are fallen; how peaceably they are laid. In this gloomy mansion, full of shades and uncomfortable damps to seize the soul—see the light and easy heart which never knew what it was to think before, how pensive it is now, how soft, how susceptible, how full of religious impressions, how deeply it is smitten with sense and with a love of virtue. Could we, in this crisis, whilst this empire of reason and religion lasts, and the heart is thus exercised with wisdom, and busied with heavenly contemplations—could we see it naked as it is—stripped of its passions, unspotted by the world, and regardless of its pleasures—we might then safely rest our cause upon this single evidence, and appeal to the most sensual, whether Solomon has not made a just determination here, in favour of the house of mourning; not for its own sake, but as it is fruitful in virtue, and becomes the occasion of so much good. Without this end, sorrow, I own, has no use but to shorten a man's days; nor can gravity, with all its studied solemnity of look and carriage, serve any end but to make one-half of the world merry, and impose upon the other.

Consider what has been said, and may God, of His mercy, bless you! Amen.—  
*From a Sermon based on the text, "It is better to go to the House of mourning than to the House of feasting." (Ecclesiastes vii. 2, 3.)*

### WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, 1708-1778

Statesman and orator. One of the most brilliant figures in the pages of English history. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he adopted a military career and became a cornet in a Dragoon Regiment. Entering Parliament in 1735 as member for Old Sarum, he soon attracted attention by his extraordinary gifts. He impugned the policy of Walpole with remarkable vigour and effect, and later distinguished himself by his eloquent expositions of national policy. In 1746 he assumed office as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and afterwards became Paymaster of the Army. He was dismissed from office in 1754, but was reinstated in 1757, becoming Secretary of State. His term of office was a memorable one. The power of Britain was brought to the highest point by his vigorous and patriotic foreign policy. Owing to the opposition to his measures on the part of the King, he resigned office in 1761, accepting a pension of £3,000 a year. In 1766 he was created Earl of Chatham and became Prime Minister. In 1768 he retired from office and continued in opposition until his death, ten years later. From the beginning of the difficulties with the American colonies he warmly advocated a conciliatory policy. His speeches on the varying aspects of the subject are perhaps the greatest ever uttered in Parliament. It was while delivering one of his impassioned harangues on the subject of America in the House of Lords on April 7th, 1778, that he was seized with his fatal illness.

#### DEFENCE OF YOUTH\*

SIR, the atrocious crime of being a young man, which the honourable gentleman has, with such spirit and decency, charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny, but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those

\* This is an extract from the famous speech delivered by Pitt on March 6th, 1741. The composition, is, beyond doubt, a concoction of Dr. Johnson. It is admitted here partly from its historic interest, partly to illustrate a phase of Parliamentary speech-making—using the phrase in its literal sense—which cannot be entirely overlooked.



whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience. Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not, Sir, assume the province of determining; but surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have passed away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey hairs should secure him from insult. Much more, Sir, is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country. But youth, Sir, is not my only crime; I have been accused of acting a theatrical part. A theatrical part may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments, and an adoption of the opinions and language of another man.

In the first sense, Sir, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned to be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though, perhaps, I may have some ambition to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy *his* diction or *his* mien, however matured by age or modelled by experience. If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and a villain; nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment he deserves. I shall, on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth and dignity entrench themselves, nor shall anything but age restrain my resentment—age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment. But with regard, Sir, to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure. The heat that offended them is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor, and drag the thief to justice, whoever may protect them in their villainy, and whoever may partake of their plunder.

#### "A PATCHED-UP PEACE"

From what I have said, my Lords, I do not doubt but it will be understood by many lords, and given out to the public, that I am for hurrying the nation, at all events, into a war with Spain. My Lords, I disclaim such councils, and I beg that this declaration may be remembered—let us have peace, my Lords, but let it be honourable, let it be secure. A patched-up peace will not do. It will not satisfy the nation, though it may be approved of by Parliament. I distinguish widely between a solid peace and the disgraceful expedients by which a war may be deferred but cannot be avoided. I am as tender of the effusion of human blood as the noble lord who dwelt so long upon the miseries of war. If the bloody politics of some noble lords had been followed, England, and every quarter of his Majesty's dominions, would have been glutted with blood—the blood of our countrymen.

My Lords, I have better reasons, perhaps, than many of your Lordships for

desiring peace upon the terms I have described. I know the strength and preparation of the House of Bourbon ; I know the defenceless unprepared conditions of this country. I know not by what mismanagement we are reduced to this situation ; and when I consider who are the men by whom a war, in the outset at least, must be conducted, can I but wish for peace ? Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence—they had intelligence : I know they had. If they had not they are criminal ; and their excuse is their crime. But I will tell these young Ministers the true source of intelligence. It is sagacity. Sagacity to compare causes and effects ; to judge the present state of things, and discern the future by a careful review of the past. Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe ; he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts, and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived. In the present situation of affairs, I think it would be treachery to the nation to conceal from them their real circumstances ; and with respect to a foreign enemy, I know that all concealments are vain and useless. They are as well acquainted with the actual force and weakness of this country, as any of the King's servants. This is no time for silence or reserve. I charge the Ministers with the highest crimes that men in their stations can be guilty of. I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a series of oppressive unconstitutional measures ; and with having betrayed and delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy.—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Lords in Nov., 1777, on the Seizure of the Falkland Islands by order of the King of Spain.*

#### THE MONEYED INTEREST

I have taken a wide circuit, my Lords ; and trespassed, I fear, too long upon your Lordships' patience. Yet I cannot conclude without endeavouring to bring home to your thoughts an object more immediately interesting to us than any I have yet considered ; I mean the internal conditions of this country. We may look abroad for wealth, or triumphs, or luxury ; but England, my Lords, is the mainstay, the last resort of the whole empire. To this point every scheme of policy, whether foreign or domestic, should ultimately refer. Have any measures been taken to satisfy, or to unite the people ? Are the grievances they have so long complained of removed ? or do they stand not only unredressed, but aggravated ? Is the right of free election restored to the elective body ? My Lords, I myself am one of the people. I esteem that security and independence which is the original birthright of an Englishman, far beyond the privileges, however splendid, which are annexed to the peerage. I myself am by birth an English elector, and join with the freeholders of England as in a common cause. Believe me, my Lords, we mistake our real interest as much as our duty, when we separate ourselves from the mass of the people. Can it be expected that Englishmen will unite heartily in the defence of a Government by which they feel themselves insulted and oppressed ? Restore them to their rights, that is the true way to make them unanimous. It is not a ceremonious recommendation from the throne that can bring back peace and harmony to a discontented people. That *insipid annual opiate* has been administered so long, that it has lost its effect. Something substantial, something effectual must be done.

The public credit of the nation stands next in degree to the rights of the Constitution ; it calls loudly for the interposition of Parliament. There is a set of

men, my Lords, in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless—on that part of the community which stands most in need of it, and best deserves the care and protection of the Legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change Alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall Street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight or six horses; if this luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My Lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the Treasury but at a distance; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *moneyed* interest; I mean that blood-sucker, that muck-worm, which calls itself the friend of Government—that pretends to serve this or that Administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any Administration that advances money to Government, and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under this description I include the whole race of the commissaries, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny that, even with these creatures, some management may be necessary. I hope, my Lords, that nothing I have said will be understood to extend to the honest, industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and has given repeated proofs that he prefers law and liberty to gold. I love that class of men. Much less would I be thought to reflect upon the fair merchant, whose liberal commerce is the prime source of national wealth. I esteem his occupation, and respect his character.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords in Nov., 1777.*

#### ON THE TAXATION OF AMERICA\*

It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the Constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary *gift* and *grant* of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the Crown to a tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days the Crown, the barons, and the clergy possessed the lands. In those days the barons and clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what was their own! At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The Church (God bless it) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands, and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? "We, your Majesty's Commons

\* This speech is the first of the numerous eloquent protests which Pitt made against the policy of taxing America. It was delivered on Jan. 14th, 1766, in the debate on the motion for an address to the King in reply to the speech from the throne, in which, while the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act was announced, the right of Parliament to tax America was asserted.

for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty"—what? Our own property? No! "We give and grant to your Majesty" the property of your Majesty's Commons of America! It is an absurdity in terms.

The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The Crown and the Peers are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown and the Peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves—rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

There is an idea in some that the colonies are *virtually* represented in the House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? *Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number.* Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough? a borough, which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw. This is what is called *the rotten part of the Constitution*. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man. It does not deserve a serious refutation.

The Commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures, in everything except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

Here I would draw the line,

"Quam ultra citraque neque consistere rectum."\*

Gentlemen, Sir, have been charged with giving birth to *sedition* in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act; and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and Acts of Parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs' ears, to defend the cause of liberty. If I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them to show that, even under former arbitrary reigns, Parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives.

I am no courtier of America. I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern.

\* "On neither side of which we can rightly stand."

The greater must rule the less. But she must so rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. . . .

A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, which so many here will think a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace—not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you; while France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer! a gentleman (Colonel Draper) whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper: they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

"Be to her faults a little blind;  
Be to her virtues very kind."

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, viz., because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.\*

#### THE HUMILIATION OF ENGLAND†

I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves, and endeavours to sanctify, the monstrous measures which have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us. This,

\* The Stamp Act was eventually repealed, but a Declaratory Act was introduced affirming the right of the King and Parliament to make laws which should be binding on the Colonies and people of America.

† From a speech made in the House of Lords on Nov. 20th, 1777, in the debate on the address in reply to the speech from the throne. The address offered the congratulations of the House to his Majesty on the birth of a princess. Lord Chatham moved an amendment in favour of the cessation of hostilities, "in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war." The amendment was rejected by ninety-seven against twenty-eight votes.

my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment. It is not a time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the Throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the illusion and the darkness which envelope it, and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

This, my Lords, is our duty. It is the proper function of this noble assembly sitting, as we do, upon our honours in this House, the hereditary council of the Crown. *Who* is the Minister—*where* is the Minister, that has dared to suggest to the Throne the contrary, unconstitutional language this day delivered from it? The accustomed language from the Throne has been application to Parliament for advice, and a reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance. As it is the right of Parliament to give, so it is the duty of the Crown to ask it. But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional counsels! no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of Parliament! but the Crown, from itself and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures—and what measures, my Lords? The measures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us; the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.

Can the Minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support in this ruinous infatuation? Can Parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one and the violation of the other? To give an unlimited credit and support for the steady perseverance in measures not proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in measures, I say, my Lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and contempt! “But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world; now none so poor to do her reverence.”\* I use the words of a poet; but, though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity are sacrificed.

France, my Lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and, whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our Ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the State, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England. The people whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility—this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! and our Ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect. Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who “but yesterday” gave law to the house of Bourbon?

\* “But yesterday the word of Cæsar might  
Have stood against the world; now lies he there,  
And none so poor to do him reverence.”

—*Julius Cæsar*, Act iii., Sc. 6.

My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to, and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count Le Marque, with his few desperate followers, were expelled the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves master of the place; and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success nor suffer with honour, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known. No man thinks more highly of them than I do. I love and honour the English troops. I know their virtues and their valour. I know they can achieve anything except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America *is an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, *you cannot* conquer America. Your armies' last war effected everything that could be effected, and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general [Lord Amherst], now a noble lord in this house, a long and laborious campaign to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. My Lords, *you cannot conquer America*. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of the Northern force,\* the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines. *He was obliged* to relinquish his attempt, and, with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat it is impossible. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince, your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!

Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies.\* The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it; and, notwithstanding what the noble earl [Lord Percy] who moved the address has given as his opinion of the American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded. While this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes; while our strength and discipline are lowered, hers are rising and improving.

But, my Lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? to call into civilised alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods—to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed

\* General Burgoyne's army.

rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character. It is a violation of the Constitution. I believe it is against law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired. Infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine, familiarised to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier—no longer sympathise with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, “that make ambition virtue!” What makes ambition virtue? The sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, ~~on~~ the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our Ministers, What other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gipsies*? Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures. You cannot *subdue* her by your present or by any measures. What, then, can you do? You cannot conquer; you cannot gain; but you can *address*; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth. We must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance or blind complacency. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat. Let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the Constitution itself, totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long. Let us now stop short. This is the crisis, the only crisis of time and situation, to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions. But if, in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we slavishly echo the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries and “confusion worse confounded.”



## THE EMPLOYMENT OF RED INDIANS.—A PLEA FOR CONCILIATION\*

I am astonished, shocked! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country: principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!

My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men—as Christian men—to protest against such notions standing near the Throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. “That God and Nature put into our hands!” I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and Nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench—those holy ministers of the Gospel, and pious pastors of our Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your Lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the Constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country.† In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion—the *Protestant religion*—of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us—to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child; to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? Against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war!* Spain armed herself with bloodhounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our

\* In the course of the debate of which the foregoing speech was a part, Lord Suffolk defended the employment of Indians in the war. He contended that besides its *policy* and *necessity* the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that “it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that *God and Nature put into our hands*.” The remark drew from Lord Chatham that magnificent protest given below which constitutes perhaps the most beautiful specimen of his oratory.

† A reference to the tapestry representing the Spanish Armada, which long adorned the walls of the old House of Lords. The English fleet on the occasion was led by Effingham Howard, an ancestor of Lord Suffolk.

brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our Constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry. And I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the State, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration ; let them purify this House, and this country, from this sin.

My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more ; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.

If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the Western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my Lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn with contempt the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for ? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery and spirit of despotism ; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world, what great exertions mankind will naturally make when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers. And, my Lords, notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I cannot help condemning in the severest manner the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston. But, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty to their parent State has been so diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of sound policy, that individuals, possessed of common understanding, must be astonished at such proceedings. By blocking up the harbour of Boston, you have involved the innocent trader in the same punishment with the guilty profligates who destroyed your merchandise ; and instead of making a well-concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their harbour, and punish the crime of a few lawless depredators and their abettors upon the whole body of the inhabitants. . . .

My Lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America ; for the day is not far distant when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms but in arts also. It is an established fact that the principal towns in America are learned and polite, and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble lords who are now in office ; and consequently, they will have a watchful eye over their liberties, to prevent the least encroachment on their hereditary rights. This, my Lords, though no new doctrine, has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave—that *this country had no right under Heaven to tax America*. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy, which neither the exigencies of the State, nor even an acquiescence in the taxes, could

justify upon any occasion whatever. Such proceedings will never meet their wished-for success ; and, instead of adding to their miseries, as the bill now before you most undoubtedly does, adopt some lenient measures which may lure them to their duty ; proceed like a blind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves ; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors ; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms ; and, I will venture to affirm, you will find these children worthy of their sire. But should their turbulence exist after you proffered terms of forgiveness, which I hope and expect this House will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremost of your Lordships to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a future relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent ! a parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greatest and most pleasing consolation. This declaration may seem unnecessary ; but I will venture to declare, the period is not far distant when she will want the assistance of her most distant friends : but should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever for her welfare—Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honour ; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace !—*Extract from a Speech delivered on May 27th, 1774, in the House of Lords on a bill for the quartering and regulating of troops in the American Colonies.*

#### JUSTICE TO AMERICA\*

I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis ; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity : for my own part, I will not desert, for a moment, the conduct of this weighty business, from the first to the last, unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness ; I will give it unremitted attention ; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded Ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their impending danger.

When I state the importance of the colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country from the present plan of mis-administration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America ; and I shall ever contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation ; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances and their private, internal property ; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate ; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to be property*. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity. It will then appear that you

\* This speech is one of the most memorable of the many famous orations delivered by Lord Chatham on the subject of America. It was made on Jan. 20th, 1775, in introducing a motion for an Address to the King, “ in order to open the way for a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America,” to despatch orders to General Gage to remove his Majesty’s forces from the town of Boston as soon as circumstances would permit. Benjamin Franklin and other distinguished Americans listened to the speech at the Bar of the House. The motion was rejected by sixty-eight votes to eighteen.

are disposed to treat amicably and equitably ; and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just ; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the Legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. Indeed, I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage and the troops under his command, thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding ; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy, penned up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard, but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt, and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation.

But I find a report creeping abroad that Ministers censure General Gage's inactivity ; let *them* censure him—it becomes them, it becomes their *justice* and their *honour*. I mean not to censure his inactivity ; it is a prudent and necessary inaction : but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured ; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

I therefore urge and conjure your Lordships immediately to adopt this conciliatory measure. I will pledge myself for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by its being thus well timed : but if you delay till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But, admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity ?—you will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace while you have the opportunity of reconciliation ; or at least prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hostile cause—obnoxious and unserviceable ; for their merit can be only inaction : *Non dimicare et vincere*—their victory can never be by exertions. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts : three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased ? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings as they have inherited their virtues ? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond the accounts of history or description of poetry ? *Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque, auditque*. So says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician. But our Ministers say, *the American must not be heard*. They have been condemned *unheard*. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty ; with all the formalities of hostility has blocked up the town (Boston), and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

But his Majesty is advised that the union in America cannot last ! Ministers

have more eyes than I, and should have more ears ; but with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it an union, solid, permanent, and effectual. Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. They are *not* commercial, they are your packers and factors : they live upon nothing—for I call commission nothing. I mean the ministerial authority for this American intelligence ; the runners for Government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union. Even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade, indeed, increases the wealth and glory of a country ; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land : in their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true genuine sons of earth are invincible : and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies ; even if these bodies, which supposition, I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the British nation (for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described)—of this spirit of independence, animation, the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information, it is not new among them ; it is and has ever been, their established principle, their confirmed persuasion : it is their nature and their doctrine. . . .

Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America—by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your Acts of Parliament, and by a demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures. Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread ; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

To conclude, my Lords. If the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown ; but I will affirm *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing*. I will not say that the King is betrayed ; but I will pronounce *that the kingdom is undone*.

#### IMPOSSIBILITY OF CONQUERING AMERICA\*

My Lords, this is a flying moment ; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break ; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for Government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody, but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health : this is the judgment of my better days—the result of forty years' attention to America. They are rebels ; but for what ? Surely not for defending their

\* From a speech made in the House of Lords on May 30th, 1777, in support of a motion for an address to the King, " most dutifully representing to his Royal wisdom, that this House is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war against the British Colonies in America, and most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances," etc. The motion was negatived by ninety-nine votes to twenty-eight.

unquestionable rights !. What have these rebels done heretofore ? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisbourg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great. I do not mean their panegyric ; but must observe, in extenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed—the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them ; but they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission.

I state to you the importance of America : it is a double market—the market of consumption, and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time ! In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony ; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage—you cannot conquer ; it is impossible : you cannot conquer the Americans. You talk of your numerous friends to annihilate the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army : I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch !. But what would you conquer—the map of America ? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject. What will you do out of the protection of your fleet ? In the winter, if together they are starved ; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail.

I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises : I know what Ministers throw out ; but at last will come to you equinoctial disappointment. You have got nothing in America but stations. , You have been three years teaching them the art of war : they are apt scholars, and I will venture to tell your Lordships that the American gentry will make officers enough fit to command the troops of all the European Powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace—too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then ? You cannot make them respect you ; you cannot make them wear your cloth ; you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. If Ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France and England, Old England must pay for all. I have at different times made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable : the present motion will tell you where you are and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home : it will give America an option ; she has yet made no option. You have said, “ Lay down your arms ! ” and she has given you the Spartan answer : “ Come, take.” . . .

Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the cannon of fraud ; under a masked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England ; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible. You are now at the mercy of every little German Chancery ; and the pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. We have tried for conditional submission : try what can be gained by unconditional redress. Less dignity will be lost in the repeal than in submitting to the demands of German Chanceries. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have invaded them as much as the Spanish Armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm, it will seat the King where he ought to be, throned in the hearts of his people ; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.

## WILKES'S EXPULSION\*

My Lords, it is said that this step will create divisions between the two Houses at a time which calls for a most perfect unanimity. Unanimity in the two Houses is certainly very commendable, when both adhere to the principles of the Constitution; but in the case of the Middlesex election the Commons have daringly violated the laws of the land; and it becomes us not to remain tame spectators of such a deed, if we would not be deemed accessory to the guilt; if we would not be branded with treason to our country, which now loudly calls for our assistance. Remove but this resolution, which my noble friend has demonstrated to be unconstitutional and absurd; and we have an undoubted right to take this step. We have precedent on our side. Our forefathers exercised this right in the case of Ashby and White, and received the applauses of the whole nation. It is ridiculous to pretend that by this act we shall commit a breach of privilege. The Commons can have no privilege by which they are authorised to break the laws. Whenever they forget themselves, and commit such an outrage, we must step forward and check their usurpation. Their jurisdiction can in no instance be so competent, final, and conclusive as to prevent us from exerting ourselves in support of the Constitution. We are the natural, the constitutional balance to their encroachments. If this be not the case, why, in the name of wonder were the three estates constituted? why is our concurrence necessary to establish the validity of statutes?

My Lords, this point is so evident that it may be left to the decision of the rawest schoolboy. If, then, we must concern ourselves in the making of every law, how much more are we bound to interest in the preserving the very essence of the Constitution, in preserving that right which is antecedent to all laws, the right of election. But Lord Middlesex and Lord Bacon were expelled and incapacitated by this House without any opposition from the other branches of the Legislature! They were so; but both were cases that only respected themselves, and consequently could not, with any propriety, come under the consideration of any other branch. In the case of Wilkes, I do not complain so much of the personal injury, as the violation of the rights of the people, who are grossly abused and betrayed by their representatives. The cases, then, being as widely different as north and south, the argument founded on them becomes utterly inconclusive. But let us allow you a succedaneum to your argument; let us suppose that the authority which gives a seat to a peer is as respectable as that which confers it on a commoner, and that both authorities are equally affronted by expulsion and incapacitation. Yet still the comparison will not hold, since these lords received no fresh title by birth or patent, and therefore could not claim a seat after the first expulsion.

\* This is an extract from one of several speeches delivered by the Earl of Chatham on the question of Wilkes's expulsion from the House of Commons after his election for Middlesex. The oration was delivered in a debate upon a motion proposed by the Duke of Richmond to the effect "That the resolution of this House of Feb. 2nd, 1770, 'And any resolution of this House directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive', would be a revolution of the constitutional rights of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament and leads to general confusion,' be expunged." After a long debate the motion was rejected by fifty-five against thirty-five votes.

## William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 1708-1778

### LORD CHATHAM'S DYING SPEECH\*

Lord Chatham came into the House of Lords leaning upon two friends, wrapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within the large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man, yet never was seen a figure of more dignity; he appeared like a being of a superior species. He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, and supported under each arm by his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said :

“ I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm—have one foot, more than one foot in the grave—I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House.”

The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House was most affecting : if any one had dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in a very low and feeble tone, but as he grew warm his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever, oratorical and affecting, perhaps more than at any former period, both from his own situation, and from the importance of the subject on which he spoke. He gave the whole history of the American war, of all the measures to which he had objected, and to all the evils which he had prophesied, in consequence of them ; adding at the end of each, “ And so it proved ! ” In one part of his speech he ridiculed the apprehension of an invasion, and then recalled the remembrance of former invasions. “ Of a Spanish invasion, of a French invasion, of a Dutch invasion, many noble lords may have read in history ; and some lords (looking keenly at Lord Mansfield) may, perhaps, remember a Scotch invasion.”

While the Duke of Richmond was speaking, he looked at him with attention and composure ; but when he rose up to answer, his strength failed him, and he fell backwards. He was instantly supported by those who were near him, and every one pressed round him with anxious solicitude. His youngest son, the Honourable James Pitt, was particularly active and clever in assisting his venerable father, though the youth was not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. Lord Chatham was carried to Mr. Sargent's house in Downing Street, where he was accommodated with every kind and friendly attention, both at this time and on a preceding day, when he had attended the House of Lords, some weeks before. From thence he was carried home to Hayes, and put to that bed from which he never rose. His death, therefore, may be truly said to have taken place in the House of Lords, in the discharge of a great public duty—a duty which he came in a dying state to perform !

\* The tragic last speech of the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords cannot be overlooked here, though it lacks the vigour of thought, the coherence, and the sustained eloquence which were customarily the marks of his oratory. One of the best accounts of the moving episode is that given in Seward's “ Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons.” From this the narrative which follows is extracted.



## WILLIAM MURRAY, EARL OF MANSFIELD, 1705-1798

Eminent jurist and statesman. The fourth son of the fifth Viscount Stormont, he was born at Seone Abbey, and educated at Perth, Westminster School, and Oxford. Adopting a career at the Bar, he was brilliantly successful. He was appointed Solicitor-General in 1748, Attorney-General in 1754, and in 1756 was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench and raised to the peerage with the title of Earl of Mansfield. His subsequent judicial career was one of high distinction. He retired from the Bench in 1788 and lived the remainder of his days at his seat, Caen Wood, Hampstead. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

## PRIVILEGES OF PEERS\*

I HAVE waited with patience to hear what arguments might be urged against the bill; but I have waited in vain. The truth is, there is no argument that can weigh against it. The justice and expediency of this bill are such as render it self-evident. It is a proposition of that nature that can neither be weakened by argument nor entangled with sophistry. Much, indeed, has been said by some noble lords, on the wisdom of our ancestors, and how differently they thought from us. They not only decreed that privilege should prevent all civil suits from proceeding during the sitting of Parliament, but likewise granted protection to the very servants of members. I shall say nothing on the wisdom of our ancestors. It might perhaps appear invidious, and is not necessary in the present case. I shall only say that the noble lords that flatter themselves with the weight of that reflection should remember that, as circumstances alter, things themselves should alter. Formerly it was not so fashionable either for masters or servants to run in debt as it is at present; nor formerly were merchants or manufacturers members of Parliament, as at present. The case now is very different. Both merchants and manufacturers are, with great propriety, elected members of the Lower House. Commerce having thus got into the legislative body of the kingdom, privilege must be done away. We all know that the very soul and essence of trade are regular payments: and sad experience teaches us that there are men who will not make their regular payments without the compulsive power of the laws. The law, then, ought to be equally open to all. Any exemption to particular men, or particular ranks of men, is, in a free commercial country, a solecism of the grossest nature.

But I will not trouble your Lordships with arguments for that which is sufficiently evident without any. I shall only say a few words to some noble lords who foresee much inconvenience from the persons of their servants being liable to be arrested. One noble lord observes, that the coachman of a peer may be arrested while he is driving his master to the House, and consequently he will not be able to attend his duty in Parliament. If this was actually to happen, there are so many methods by which the member might still get to the House, I can hardly think the noble lord to be serious in his objection. Another noble lord said that by this bill one might lose his most valuable and honest servants. This I hold to be a contradiction in terms; for he neither can be a valuable servant, nor an honest man, who gets into debt which he neither is able nor willing

\* On May 9th, 1770, a bill was brought up for discussion in the House of Lords to restrict the privileges of legislators in reference to legal processes for the recovery of debts. It was in defence of the principle of the measure that Lord Mansfield made his eloquent speech. The bill ultimately passed.

to pay till compelled by law. If my servant, by unforeseen accidents, has got in debt, and I still wish to retain him, I certainly would pay the debt. But upon no principle of liberal legislation whatever can my servant have a title to set his creditors at defiance, while, for forty shillings only, the honest tradesman may be torn from his family and locked up in gaol. It is monstrous injustice ! I flatter myself, however, the determination of this day will entirely put an end to all such partial proceedings for the future, by passing into a law the bill now under your Lordships' consideration.

I now come to speak upon what, indeed, I would have gladly avoided, had I not been particularly *pointed* at for the part I have taken in this bill. It has been said by a noble lord on my left hand that I likewise am running the race of popularity. If the noble lord means by popularity that applause bestowed by after-ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been struggling in that race, to what purpose all-trying time can alone determine. But if the noble lord means that mushroom popularity which is raised without merit, and lost without a crime, he is much mistaken in his opinion. I defy the noble lord to point out a single action in my life where the popularity of the times ever had the smallest influence on my determination. I thank God I have a more permanent and steady rule for my conduct—the dictates of my own breast. Those that have foregone that pleasing adviser, and given up their mind to be the slave of every popular impulse, I sincerely pity. I pity them still more if their vanity leads them to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of their fame. Experience might inform them that many who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next ; and many who, by the popularity of their times, have been held up as spotless patriots, have nevertheless appeared upon the historian's page, when truth has triumphed over delusion, the assassins of liberty.

Why, then, the noble lord can think I am ambitious of present popularity, that echo of folly and shadow of renown, I am at a loss to determine. Besides, I do not know that the bill now before your Lordships will be popular. It depends much upon the caprice of the day. It may not be popular to compel people to pay their debts ; and in that case the present must be an unpopular bill. It may not be popular, either, to take away any of the privileges of Parliament ; for I very well remember, and many of your Lordships may remember, that not long ago the popular cry was for the extension of privilege. And so far did they carry it at that time, that it was said that privilege protected members from criminal actions ; nay, such was the power of popular prejudices over weak minds, that the very decisions of some of the courts were tinctured with that doctrine. It was undoubtedly an abominable doctrine. I thought so then, and think so still. But, nevertheless, it was a popular doctrine, and came immediately from those who were called the friends of liberty, how deservedly time will show. True liberty, in my opinion, can only exist when justice is equally administered to all—to the King and to the beggar. Where is the justice, then, or where is the law, that protects a member of Parliament more than any other man from the punishment due to his crimes ? The laws of this country allow no place nor employment to be a sanctuary for crimes ; and, where I have the honour to sit as judge, neither royal favour nor popular applause shall ever protect the guilty.

—*Speech in the House of Lords, May, 9th, 1770.*

## HENRY, LORD BATHURST, 1714-1794

Lord Chancellor. After completing his education at Oxford, he in 1736 was called to the Bar, and about the same period entered Parliament for the family borough of Cirencester. In 1754 he was made a puisne judge of the Court of Common Pleas. When the Great Seal was put in Commission in 1770 he was selected as one of the Commissioners. In 1771 he was made Lord Chancellor and raised to the peerage as Baron Apsley of Apsley in Sussex. On the death of his father in 1775 he succeeded to the Earldom of Bathurst. As Lord Chancellor he, on April 15th, 1776, presided at the trial of the Duchess of Kingston for bigamy. In 1778 he resigned the seals to Lord Thurlow, and was appointed President of the Council, a position which he held for four years. He spent his last days in retirement at Cirencester, where he died and was buried.

## ON PARRICIDE\*

MISS BLANDY, the prisoner at the bar, a gentlewoman by birth and education, stands indicted for no less a crime than that of murder; and not only for murder, but for the murder of her own father, and for the murder of a father passionately fond of her, undertaken with the utmost deliberation; carried on with an unvaried steadiness of purpose, and at last accomplished by a frequent repetition of the baneful dose administered with her own hand. A crime so shocking in its own nature, and so aggravated in all its circumstances, as will (if she be proved to be guilty of it) justly render her infamous to the latest posterity, and make our children's children, when they read the horrid tale of this day, blush to think that such a creature ever existed in a human form.

I need not, gentlemen, point out to you the heinousness of the crime of murder. You have but to consult your own breasts, and you will know it. Has a murder been committed? Who has ever beheld the ghastly corpse of the murdered innocent, weltering in its blood, and did not feel his own blood run slow and cold through all his veins? Has the murderer escaped? With what eagerness do we pursue! With what zeal do we apprehend! With what joy do we bring to justice! And when the dreadful sentence of death is pronounced upon him, everybody hears it with satisfaction, and acknowledges the justice of the Divine denunciation, that "*Who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.*"

If this, then, is the case of any common murderer, what will be thought of one who has murdered her own father? who has designedly done the greatest of all human injuries to him from whom she received the first and greatest of all human benefits? who has wickedly taken away his life to whom she stands indebted for life? who has deliberately destroyed, in his old age, him by whose care and tenderness she was protected in her helpless infancy? who has impiously shut her ears against the loud voice of Nature and of God, which bid her "honour her father," and instead of honouring him has murdered him? In shortly opening the case, that you may the better understand the evidence, although I shall rather extenuate than aggravate, I have a story to tell which I trust will shock the ears of all who hear me.

\* Speech made as prosecuting counsel at Oxford in 1752 in the celebrated case in which Miss Blandy, a lady by birth and education, was charged with the murder of her father. The circumstances of the murder are detailed in the speech. The jury convicted the prisoner and she was condemned to death and executed. "She went out of the world (says Lord Campbell) with a solemn declaration, which she signed and repeated at the gallows, that she had no intention of injuring her father, and that she thought the powder would make him love her and give his consent to her union with Captain Cranstoun."

Mr. Francis Blandy, the unfortunate deceased, was an attorney-at-law, who lived at Henley, in this county. A man of character and reputation, he had one only child—a daughter—the darling of his soul, the comfort of his age. He took the utmost care of her education, and had the satisfaction to see his care was not ill-bestowed, for she was genteel, agreeable, sprightly, sensible. His whole thoughts were bent to settle her advantageously in the world. In order to do that, he made use of a pious fraud (if I may be allowed the expression) pretending he could give her £10,000 for her fortune. This he did in hopes that some of the neighbouring gentlemen would pay their addresses to her; for out of regard to him she was, from her earliest youth, received into the best company, and her own behaviour made her afterwards acceptable to them.

But how short-sighted is human prudence! What was intended for her promotion proved his death and her destruction. . . . Captain Cranstoun, an officer of the army, of a noble family in Scotland, but of a most profligate character, being stationed with a recruiting party at Henley, for the sake of Miss Blandy's expected fortune, pretended to fall in love with her, and paid his addresses to her. She, being soon deeply attached to him accepted his offer, but the father positively refused his consent. The lovers then resolved to poison him, and Captain Cranstoun sent Miss Blandy some Scotch pebbles with a powder to clean them, which was white arsenic.

To prepare the world for what was to happen, according to the superstition of the times, they had pretended to have heard supernatural music in the house, and to have seen an apparition which foreboded his death. She first administered the poison to her father in his tea, and when it caused him exquisite anguish, and seemed to be consuming his entrails, she gave him a fresh dose of the poison in the shape of gruel, which she said would comfort and relieve him. As he was dying, the cause of his death was discovered and communicated to him. He exclaimed, "Poor love-sick girl! What will not a woman do for the man she loves?" She said, "Dear sir, banish me where you will, do with me what you please, so that you do but forgive me." He answered, "I do forgive you, but you should, my dear, have considered that I was your own father; but oh, that that villain, who hath eat of the best and drank of the best my house could afford, should take away my life and ruin my daughter!" She then ran for the paper containing the powder, and threw it into the fire, thinking it was destroyed; but it remained unconsumed, and produced her conviction. How evidently the hand of Providence has interposed to bring her to this day's trial, that she may suffer the consequence! For what but the hand of Providence could have snatched it unhurt from the devouring flame? Good God! how wonderful are all Thy ways! and how miraculously hast Thou preserved this paper, to be this day produced in evidence against the prisoner, in order that she may undergo the punishment due to her crime, and be a dreadful example to all others who may be tempted in like manner to offend Thy Divine Majesty!

## CHARLES PRATT, EARL CAMDEN, 1714-1794

**Lord Chancellor.** The son of Sir John Pratt, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Born at Kensington, and educated at Eton and Oxford, he adopted a legal career; in 1759 he was appointed Recorder of Bath, and in the same year became Attorney-General. His appointment as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas followed in 1761. In that capacity he won great popularity by his decisions in the case of general warrants, which resulted in Wilkes's release from confinement. His elevation to the peerage in 1765 was followed in the same year by his selection for the office of Lord Chancellor by the Earl of Chatham. He shared that statesman's antagonism to the policy of dealing with America, and in 1770 was dismissed from office because of his uncompromising views on the subject. He afterwards (in 1782) became President of the Council, and in 1786 was raised to an Earldom.

## TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION\*

MY LORDS, this is a heavy charge, but more so when made against one stationed as I am, in both capacities as a Peer and a Judge, the defender of the Law and the Constitution. When I spoke last, I was indeed replied to, but not answered. As the affair is of the utmost importance, and in its consequences may involve the fate of kingdoms, I have taken the strictest review of my arguments, I have re-examined all my authorities—fully determined, if I found myself mistaken, publicly to own my mistake and give up my opinion; but my searches have more and more convinced me that the British Parliament has no right to tax the Americans. I shall not criticise the strange language in which your proposed declaration is framed; for to what purpose, but loss of time, to consider the particulars of a bill, the very existence of which is illegal—contrary to the fundamental laws of Nature, contrary to the fundamental laws of this Constitution—a Constitution whose centre is liberty, which sends liberty to every individual who may happen to be within any part of its ample circumference? Nor, my Lords, is the doctrine new; it is as old as the Constitution; it grew up with it; indeed, it is its support; taxation and representation are inseparably united, God hath joined them, no British Parliament can put them asunder; to endeavour to do so is to stab our very vitals. My position is this—I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable; this position is founded on the laws of Nature; it is itself a law of Nature, for whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent either expressed by himself or representative; whosoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whosoever does it commits a robbery; he throws down and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery. Taxation and representation are coeval with, and essential to, the Constitution. I wish the maxim of Machiavelli were followed—that of examining a Constitution, at certain periods, according to its first principles; this would correct abuses and supply defects. To endeavour to fix the era when the House of Commons began in this kingdom is a most pernicious and destructive attempt; to fix it in Edward's or Henry's reign is owing to the idle dreams of some whimsical ill-judging antiquarians.

When did the House of Commons first begin? When, my Lords? It began with the Constitution. There is not a blade of grass growing in the most obscure

\* This speech was delivered by Lord Camden in the House of Lords in 1766 on the Declaratory Bill, associated with the repeal of the Stamp Act. In an earlier utterance—his maiden effort in the House of Lords—he had strenuously denied the right of the mother country to tax the American Colonies. His attitude excited much criticism at the time, and he was denounced as "the broacher of new-fangled doctrines, contrary to the laws of the kingdom and subversive of the rights of Parliament." It was in replying to this charge that the speech from which extracts are given was made.

corner of this kingdom which is not—which was not ever—represented since the Constitution began ; there is not a blade of grass which, when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor. . . . The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native country, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery : they did not give up their rights ; they expected protection, not chains, from their mother country ; by her they believe that they should be defended in the possession of their property, and not despoiled of it. But if you wantonly press this declaration, although you now repeal the Stamp Act, you may pass it again in a month ; and future taxation must be in view, or you would hardly assert your right to enjoy the pleasure of offering an insult. Thus our fellow-subjects in America will have nothing which they can call their own, or, to use the words of the immortal Locke, *What property have they in that which another may by right take, when he pleases, to himself?*

## LITERARY COPYRIGHT

If there be anything in the world common to all mankind, science and literature are in their nature *publici juris*, and they ought to be free and general as air or water. They forget their Creator as well as their fellow-creatures who wish to monopolise His noblest gifts and greatest benefits. Why did we enter into society at all, but to enlighten one another's minds, and improve our faculties for the common welfare of the species ? Those great men, those favoured mortals, those sublime spirits, who share that ray of divinity which we call *genius*, are entrusted by Providence with the delegated power of imparting to their fellow-creatures that instruction which Heaven meant for universal benefit ; they must not be niggards to the world, or hoard up for themselves the common stock. We know what was the punishment of him who hid his talent ; and Providence has taken care that there shall not be wanting the noblest motives and incentives for men of genius to communicate to the world the truths and discoveries which are nothing if uncommunicated. Knowledge has no value or use for the solitary owner ; to be enjoyed it must be communicated : *scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*. Glory is the reward of science ; and those who deserve it scorn all meaner views. I speak not of the scribblers for bread, who tease the world with their wretched productions ; fourteen years is too long a period for their perishable trash. It was not for gain that Bacon, Newton, Milton, Locke, instructed and delighted the world.

When the bookseller offered Milton five pounds for his *Paradise Lost*, he did not reject the offer and commit his piece to the flames, nor did he accept the miserable pittance as the reward of his labours ; he knew that the real price of his work was *immortality*, and that posterity would pay it.\* Some authors are as careless of profit as others are rapacious of it, and in what a situation would the public be with regard to literature if there were no means of compelling a second impression of a useful work ! All our learning would be locked up in the hands of the Tousons and Lintots of the age, who could set what price upon it their avarice demands, till the whole public would become as much their slaves as their own wretched hackney compilers.\*—*Extract from Speech in the House of Lords in 1774 upon the question of whether at common law authors have a perpetual copyright in their works.*

\* These illiberal views of Lord Camden were repeated some time afterwards when a bill was introduced to extend the period of copyright. It was left to a later generation of legislators to give the author the protection that is his due.

## EDMUND BURKE, 1729-1797

**Orator, statesman, and writer.** Born and educated in Dublin, Burke in 1753 entered at the Middle Temple as a law student, but he applied himself more to literature than to law. His first serious literary effort was his "Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," which was a great success. Later he undertook the compilation of the *Annual Register* at Dodsley's suggestion, and edited it for several years. His political career did not commence until 1765, when he became private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, and entered Parliament as member for Wendover. When the dispute with the American Colonies broke out he ranged himself on the side of the opponents of the Government policy. His two greatest speeches on the question were those delivered on April 19th, 1774, and on March 22nd in the following year. When Lord Rockingham formed his second Administration, he appointed Burke Paymaster-General, and in 1783 the orator became a member of the Coalition Ministry. On the accession of Pitt to power, he again went into opposition and never afterwards held office. His later years were distinguished by his arduous, if somewhat misdirected, zeal in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and his violent denunciation of the French Revolution, which cost him his friendship with Fox. Retiring from Parliament in 1794, he died at Beaconsfield. His oratory remains a splendid monument to his transcendent genius.

## CHATHAM'S ADMINISTRATION

SIR, this period\* was not as long as it was happy. Another scene was opened, and other actors appeared on the stage. The State, in the condition I have described it, was delivered into the hands of Lord Chatham—a great and celebrated name—a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called—

Clarum et venerabile nomen,  
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.†

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind, and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonises and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and, I hope, without offence. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and, for that reason, among others, perhaps, fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an Administration so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and Republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly

\* The period of the Repeal of the Stamp Act.

† A name illustrious and revered by nations,  
And rich in blessings for our country's good.  
*Lucan's "Pharsalia,"* b. ix.

unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name? Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one—I beg a thousand pardons." I venture to say, it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed.

Sir, in consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger portion of his enemies and opposers in power, the confusion was such that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a Minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of Ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him which was justified, even in its extravagance, by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own.

Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his Administration, when everything was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an Act declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant.

This light, too, is passed and set for ever. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of Charles Townsend, officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme, whom I cannot even now remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finished wit, and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far, than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together within a short time all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the House just between wind and water; and, not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious or more earnest than the preconceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required, to whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the House; and he seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it.



I beg pardon, Sir, if, when I speak of this and other great men, I appear to digress in saying something of their characters. In this eventful history of the revolutions of America, the characters of such men are of much importance. *Great men are the guideposts and landmarks in the State.* The credit of such men at court, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all the public measures.—*From Burke's celebrated Speech on American Taxation, delivered in the House of Commons on April 19th, 1774, on the question of abolishing the Tea Duty.*

#### AMERICAN TAXATION

Let us, Sir, embrace some system or other before we end this session. Do you mean to tax America, and to draw a productive revenue from thence? If you do, speak out: name, fix, ascertain this revenue; settle its quantity; define its objects; provide for its collection; and then fight, when you have something to fight for. If you murder, rob! If you kill, take possession; and do not appear in the character of madmen, as well as assassins, violent, vindictive, bloody and tyrannical, without an object. But may better counsels guide you!

Again and again revert to your old principles. Seek peace and ensue it. Leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions. I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and their and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions, in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them with taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools, for there only they may be discussed with safety. But if, intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard, the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. Nobody will be argued into slavery. Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side call forth all their ability; let the best of them get up and tell me what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them? When they bear the burdens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery; that it is *legal* slavery will be no compensation either to his feelings or his understanding.

A noble lord (Lord Carmarthen), who spoke some time ago, is full of the fire of ingenuous youth; and when he has modelled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either House. He has said that the Americans are our children, and how can they revolt against their parent? He says that if they are not free in their present state, England

is not free, because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So, then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are "our children;" but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinders our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation to the right—is it therefore that the colonies are to recede from it infinitely? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty, are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our Constitution? Are we to give them our weakness for their strength—our opprobrium for their glory; and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom?

Before I sit down, I must say something to another point with which gentlemen urge us: What is to become of the Declaratory Act, asserting the entireness of British legislative authority, if we abandon the practice of taxation?

For my part, I look upon the rights stated in that Act exactly in the manner in which I viewed them on its very first proposition, and which I have often taken the liberty, with great humility, to lay before you. I look, I say, on the imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the colonists ought to enjoy under these rights, to be just the most reconcilable things in the world. The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities: one as the local Legislature of this island, providing for all things at home, immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power. The other, and, I think, her nobler capacity, is what I call her imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior Legislatures, and guides and controls them all without annihilating any. As all these provincial Legislatures are only co-ordinate to each other, they ought all to be subordinate to her; else they can neither preserve mutual peace, nor hope for mutual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assistance. It is necessary to coerce the negligent, to restrain the violent, and to aid the weak and deficient, by the overruling plenitude of her power. She is never to intrude into the place of others while they are equal to the common ends of their institution. But, in order to enable Parliament to answer all these ends of provident and beneficent superintendence, her powers must be boundless. The gentlemen who think the powers of Parliament limited may please themselves to talk of requisitions. But suppose the requisitions are not obeyed. What! shall there be no reserved power in the Empire to supply a deficiency which may weaken, divide, and dissipate the whole? We are engaged in war; the Secretary of State calls upon the colonies to contribute; some would do it—I think most would cheerfully furnish whatever is demanded; one or two, suppose, hang back, and, easing themselves, let the stress of the draught lie on the others: surely it is proper that some authority might legally say, "Tax yourselves for the common supply, or Parliament will do it for you." This backwardness was, as I am told, actually the case of Pennsylvania for some short time toward the beginning of the last war, owing to some internal dissensions in the colony. But, whether the fact were so or otherwise, the case is equally to be provided for by a competent sovereign power. But then, this ought to be no ordinary power, nor ever used in the first instance. This is what I meant when I have said at various times that I consider the power of taxing in Parliament as an instrument of empire and not as a means of supply.

Such, Sir, is my idea of the Constitution of the British Empire, as distinguished from the Constitution of Britain; and on these grounds I think subordination

and liberty may be sufficiently reconciled through the whole ; whether to serve a refining speculatist or a factious demagogue, I know not ; but enough, surely, for the ease and happiness of man.—*From a Speech on American Taxation in the House of Commons, April 19th, 1774.*

#### ON CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA

The PROPOSITION is peace. Not peace through the medium of war ; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations ; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle in all parts of the Empire ; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in its natural course and its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country, to give permanent satisfaction to your people ; and, far from a scheme of ruling by discord, to reconcile them to each other in the same Act, and by the bond of the very same interest, which reconciles them to British government.

My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is (let me say) of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendour of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon [Lord North]. It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace at every instant to keep the peace among them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer, and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of algebra to equalise and settle.

The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end ; and this I shall endeavour to show you before I sit down. But for the present, I take my ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation ; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior, and he loses for ever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.—*From a Speech made on Conciliation with America, on March 22, 1775.*

## THE RISE OF AMERICA

Mr. Speaker, I cannot prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration.\* It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an immense view of what is, and what is past. Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-eight years. There are those alive whose memory might touch the two extremities. For instance, my Lord Bathurst might remember all the stages of the progress. He was in 1704 of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things. He was then old enough "*acta parentum jam legere, et quæ sit poterit cognoscere virtus.*" Suppose, Sir, that the angel of this auspicious youth, foreseeing the many virtues which made him one of the most amiable, as he is one of the most fortunate men of his age, had opened to him in vision, that when, in the fourth generation, the third prince of the House of Brunswick had sat twelve years on the throne of that nation, which, by the happy issue of moderate and healing councils, was to be made Great Britain, he should see his son, Lord Chancellor of England, turn back the current of hereditary dignity to its fountain, and raise him to a higher rank of peerage, while he enriched the family with a new one. If, amid these bright and happy scenes of domestic honour and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle rather than a formed body, and should tell him, "Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilising conquests and civilising settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life!" If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate, indeed, if he live to see nothing to vary the prospect and cloud the setting of his day!—*From a Speech on Conciliation with America, delivered on March 22nd, 1775.*

## THE DRAWBACKS OF DISTANT POSSESSIONS

The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat the whole system. You have, indeed, "winged ministers" of vengeance, who carry your bolts in their

\* The growth of national prosperity.

pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no further." Who are you, that should fret and rage, and bite the chains of Nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire; and it happens in all forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Koordistan, as he governs Thrace: nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Broosa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigour of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.—*From the Speech on Conciliation in America, delivered in the House of Commons on March 22nd, 1775.*

#### THE BOND OF EMPIRE

My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship Freedom, they will turn their faces toward you.\* The more they multiply, the more friends you will have. The more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain; they may have it from Prussia; but, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true Act of Navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution, which, infused

\* An allusion suggested by the practice of the Jews worshipping towards the temple during their dispersions (*vide* I. Kings viii. 44-45; Dan. vi. 10).

through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England ? Do you imagine, then, that it is the land tax which raises your revenue ? that it is the annual vote in the Committee of Supply which gives you your army ? or that it is the Mutiny Bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline ? No ! surely no ! It is the love of the people ; it is their attachment to their Government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians who have no place among us ; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material, and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom ; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our place as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda !* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting, the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American Empire. English privileges have made it all that it is ; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.—*From a Speech on Conciliation in America, delivered in the House of Commons on March 22nd, 1775.*

#### THE HUMILIATION OF BRITAIN

We sent out a solemn embassy across the Atlantic Ocean, to lay the Crown, the Peerage, the Commons of Great Britain at the feet of the American Congress. That our disgrace might want no sort of brightening and burnishing, observe who they were that composed this famous embassy. My Lord Carlisle is among the first ranks of our nobility. He is the identical man who, but two years before, had been put forward at the opening of a session in the House of Lords, as the mover of a haughty and rigorous address against America. He was put in the front of the embassy of submission. Mr. Eden was taken from the office of Lord Suffolk, to whom he was then Under-Secretary of State : from the office of that Lord Suffolk, who, but a few weeks before, in his place in Parliament, did not deign to inquire where a congress of vagrants was to be found. This Lord Suffolk sent Mr. Eden to find these vagrants, without knowing where his King's generals were to be found, who were joined in the same commission of supplicating those whom they were sent to subdue. They enter the capital of America only to abandon it ; and these assertors and representatives of the dignity of England, at the tail of a flying army, let fly their Parthian shafts of memorials and remonstrances at random behind them. Their promises and their offers, their flatteries and their

menaces, were all despised ; and we were saved the disgrace of their formal reception, only because the Congress scorned to receive them ; while the State House of independent Philadelphia opened her doors to the public entry of the ambassador of France. From war and blood we went to submission ; and from submission plunged back again to war and blood ; to desolate and be desolated, without measure, hope, or end. I am a Royalist : I blushed for this degradation of the Crown. I am a Whig : I blushed for the dishonour of Parliament. I am a true Englishman : I felt to the quick for the disgrace of England. I am a man : I felt for the melancholy reverse of human affairs, in the fall of the first power in the world.—*From a Speech to the Electors of Bristol before the Election of 1780.*

#### MR. HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST

I cannot name this gentleman (Mr. Howard) without remarking that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe, not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples ; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art ; not to collect medals, or collate manuscripts ; but to dive into the depths of dungeons ; to plunge into the infection of hospitals ; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain ; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt ; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original, and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery ; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or less in every country : I hope he will anticipate his final reward by seeing all its effects fully realised in his own. He will receive, not by retail, but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner ; and he has so forestalled and monopolised this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter.—*From a Speech at Bristol before the Election of 1780.*

#### THE REFORMATION

The Reformation, one of the greatest periods of human improvement, was a time of trouble and confusion. The vast structure of superstition and tyranny which had been for ages in rearing, and which was combined with the interest of the great and of the many ; which was moulded into the laws, the manners, and civil institutions of nations, and blended with the frame and policy of states, could not be brought to the ground without a fearful struggle ; nor could it fall without a violent concussion of itself and all about it. When this great revolution was attempted in a more regular mode by Government, it was opposed by plots and seditious of the people ; when, by popular efforts, it was repressed as rebellion by the hand of power ; and bloody executions (often bloodily returned) marked the whole of its progress through all its stages. The affairs of religion, which are no longer heard of in the tumult of our present contentions, made a principal ingredient in the wars and politics of that time ; the enthusiasm of religion threw a gloom over the politics, and political interests poisoned and perverted the spirit of religion upon all sides. The Protestant religion, in that violent struggle, infected as the popish had been before, by worldly interests and worldly passions, became a persecutor in its turn, sometimes of the new sects, which carried their own principles further than it was convenient to the original reformers, and always of the body

from whom they parted; and this persecuting spirit arose not only from the bitterness of retaliation, but from the merciless policy of fear.

It was long before the spirit of true piety and true wisdom, involved in the principles of reformation, could be depurated from the dregs and feculence of the contention with which it was carried through. However, until this be done, the Reformation is not complete; and those that think themselves good Protestants, from their animosity to others, are in that respect no Protestants at all. It was at first thought necessary, perhaps, to oppose to popery another popery, to get the better of it. Whatever was the cause, laws were made in many countries, and in this kingdom in particular, against Papists, which are as bloody as any of those which had been enacted by the popish princes and states; and where those laws were not bloody, in my opinion they were worse, as they were slow, cruel outrages on our nature, and kept men alive only to insult in their persons every one of the rights and feelings of humanity.—*From a Speech at Bristol before the Election of 1780.*

#### TRUE LIBERTY

I must fairly tell you that, so far as my principles are concerned (principles that I hope will only depart with my last breath), I have no idea of a liberty unconnected with honesty and justice. Nor do I believe that any good constitutions of government or of freedom can find it necessary for their security to doom any part of the people to a permanent slavery. Such a constitution of freedom, if such can be, is in effect no more than another name for the tyranny of the strongest faction; and factions in republics have been, and are, full as capable as monarchs, of the most cruel oppression and injustice. It is but too true that the love, and even the very idea, of genuine liberty is extremely rare. It is but too true that there are many whose whole scheme of freedom is made up of pride, perverseness, and insolence. They feel themselves in a state of thralldom; they imagine that their souls are cooped and cabined in, unless they have some man, or some body of men, dependent on their mercy. This desire of having some one below them descends to those who are the very lowest of all—and a Protestant cobbler, debased by his poverty, but exalted by his share of the ruling Church, feels a pride in knowing it is by his generosity alone that the peer, whose footman's instep he measures, is able to keep his chaplain from a jail. This disposition is the true source of the passion which many men in very humble life have taken to the American war. *Our* subjects in America! *our* colonies! *our* dependants! This lust of party power is the liberty they hunger and thirst for, and this siren song of ambition has charmed ears that one would have thought were never organised to that sort of music.

This way of *proscribing the citizens by denominations and general descriptions*, dignified by the name of reason of state, and security for constitutions and commonwealths, is nothing better at bottom than the miserable invention of an ungenerous ambition, which would fain hold the sacred trust of power without any of the virtues, or any of the energies, that give a title to it; a receipt of policy made up of a detestable compound of malice, cowardice, and sloth. They would govern men against their will; but in that government they would be discharged from the exercise of vigilance, providence, and fortitude; and therefore, that they may sleep on their watch, they consent to take some one division of the society into partnership of the tyranny over the rest. But let government, in what form it may be, comprehend the whole in its justice, and restrain the suspicious by its vigilance; let it keep watch and ward, let it discover by its sagacity, and



punish by its firmness, all delinquency against its power, whenever delinquency exists in the overt acts ; and then it will be as safe as ever God and Nature intended it should be. Crimes are the acts of individuals, and not of denominations ; and therefore arbitrarily to class men under general descriptions, in order to proscribe and punish them in the lump for a presumed delinquency, of which perhaps but a part, perhaps none at all, are guilty, is indeed a compendious method, and saves a world of trouble about proof ; but such a method, instead of being law, is an act of unnatural rebellion against the legal dominion of reason and justice ; and this vice, in any Constitution that entertains it, at one time or other will certainly bring on its ruin.—*From a Speech at Bristol before the Election of 1780.*

#### EFFETE ROYAL ESTABLISHMENTS

When the reason of old establishments is gone, it is absurd to preserve nothing but the burthen of them. This is superstitiously to embalm a carcass not worth an ounce of the gums that are used to preserve it. It is to burn precious oils in the tomb, it is to offer meat and drink to the dead—not so much an honour to the deceased, as a disgrace to the survivors. Our palaces are vast inhospitable halls. There the bleak winds, there “Boreas, and Eurus, and Carus, and Argestes loud,” howling through the vacant lobbies, and clattering the doors of deserted guard-rooms, appal the imagination, and conjure up the grim sceptres of departed tyrants—the Saxon, the Norman, and the Dane ; the stern Edwards and fierce Henries—who stalk from desolation to desolation, through the dreary vacuity, and melancholy succession of chill and comfortless chambers. When this tumult subsides, a dead, and still more frightful silence would reign in this desert, if every now and then the tacking of hammers did not announce that those constant attendants upon all courts in all ages, Jobs, were still alive ; for whose sake alone it is that any trace of ancient grandeur is suffered to remain. These palaces are a true emblem of some governments, the inhabitants are decayed, but the governors and magistrates still flourish. They put me in mind of *Old Sarum*, where the representatives, more in number than the constituents, only serve to inform us that this was once a place of trade, and sounding with “the busy hum of men,” though now you can only trace the streets by the colour of the corn ; and its sole manufacture is in members of Parliament.—*Speech in the House of Commons in 1780, in submitting “A plan of reform in the constitution of several parts of the public economy.”*

#### THE COMMONS AND POPULAR OPINION

Some, without doors, affect to feel hurt for your dignity, because they suppose that menaces are held out to you. Justify their good opinion, by showing that no menaces are necessary to stimulate you to your duty. But, Sir, whilst we may sympathise with them in one point, who sympathise with us in another, we ought to attend no less to those who approach us like men, and who, in the guise of petitioners, speak to us in the tone of a concealed authority. It is not wise to force them to speak out more plainly, what they plainly mean. But the petitioners are violent. Be it so. Those who are least anxious about your conduct are not those that love you most. Moderate affection and satiated enjoyment are cold and respectful ; but an ardent and injured passion is tempered up with wrath, and grief, and shame, and conscious worth, and the maddening sense of violated right. A jealous love lights his torch from the firebrands of the furies. They

who call upon you to belong wholly to the people, are those who wish you to return to your proper home, to the sphere of your duty, to the post of your honour, to the mansion-house of all genuine, serene, and solid satisfaction. We have furnished to the people of England (indeed we have) some real cause of jealousy. Let us leave that sort of company which, if it does not destroy our innocence, pollutes our honour; let us free ourselves at once from everything that can increase their suspicions and inflame their just resentment; let us cast away from us, with a generous scorn, all the love-tokens and symbols that we have been vain and light enough to accept;—all the bracelets and snuff-boxes, and miniature pictures, and hair-devices, and all the other adulterous trinkets that are the pledges of our alienation, and the monuments of our shame. Let us return to our legitimate home, and all jars and all quarrels will be lost in embraces. Let the Commons in Parliament assembled be one and the same thing with the commons at large. The distinctions that are made to separate us are unnatural and wicked contrivances. Let us identify, let us incorporate ourselves with the people. Let us cut all the cables and snap the chains which tie us to an unfaithful shore, and enter the friendly harbour, that shoots far out into the main its moles and jetties to receive us. “War with the world, and peace with our constituents.” Be this our motto and our principle. Then, indeed, we shall be truly great. Respecting ourselves we shall be respected by the world. At present all is troubled and cloudy, and distracted, and full of anger and turbulence, both abroad and at home; but the air may be cleared by this storm; and light and fertility may follow it. Let us give a faithful pledge to the people, that we honour, indeed, the Crown; but that we belong to them; that we are their auxiliaries, and not their task-masters; the fellow-labourers in the same vineyard, not lording over their rights, but helpers of their joy: that to tax them is a grievance to ourselves, but to cut off from our enjoyments to forward theirs is the highest gratification we are capable of receiving. I feel with comfort that we are all warmed with these sentiments; and while we are thus warm I wish we may go directly and with a cheerful heart to this salutary work.—*Speech on Economical Reform, delivered in the House of Commons in 1780.*

#### THE RIGHTS OF MAN\*

The rights of men, that is to say, the natural rights of mankind, are indeed sacred things; and if any public measure is proved mischievously to affect them, the objection ought to be fatal to that measure, even if no charter at all could be set up against it. If these natural rights are further affirmed and declared by express covenants, if they are clearly defined and secured against chicane, against power and authority, by written instruments and positive engagements, they are in a still better condition: they partake not only of the sanctity of the object so secured, but of that solemn public faith itself which secures an object of such importance. Indeed, this formal recognition, by the sovereign power, of an original right in the subject, can never be subverted, but by rooting up the holding radical principles of government, and even of society itself. The charters, which we call

\* This and the following extracts are from Burke's great speech on Fox's East India Bill. That measure, which was introduced in the House of Commons in Nov., 1763, by Fox as a member of the Coalition Ministry, had for its object the vesting of the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of Commissioners. A supplementary bill established a Board of Control. Burke's speech was made on Dec. 1st, on the motion for going into Committee on the first of the bills. The bill passed through the House of Commons, but was rejected in the Lords in consequence of the hostility of the King.

by distinction *great*, are public instruments of this nature ; I mean the charters of King John and Henry the Third. The things secured by these instruments may, without deceitful ambiguity, be very fitly called the "chartered rights of men."

These charters have made the very name of a charter dear to the heart of every Englishman. But, Sir, there may be, and there are, charters not only different in nature, but formed on principles the very reverse of those of the great charter. Of this kind is the charter of the East India Company. Magna Charta is a charter to restrain power, and to destroy monopoly. The East India charter is a charter to establish monopoly, and to create power. Political power and commercial monopoly are not the rights of men ; and the rights to them derived from charters it is fallacious and sophistical to call "the chartered rights of men." These chartered rights (to speak of such charters and of their effects in terms of the greatest possible moderation) do at least suspend the natural rights of mankind at large ; and in their very frame and constitution are liable to fall into a direct violation of them.—*Speech on Fox's East India Bill.*

#### THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

This multitude of men does not consist of an abject and barbarous populace ; much less of gangs of savages, like the Guaranies and Chiquitos, who wander on the waste borders of the river of Amazons, or the Plate ; but a people for ages civilised and cultivated ; cultivated by all the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods. There have been (and still the skeletons remain) princes once of great dignity, authority, and opulence. There are to be found the chiefs of tribes and nations. There is to be found an ancient and venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning, and history, the guides of the people whilst living, and their consolation in death ; a nobility of great antiquity and renown ; a multitude of cities, not exceeded in population and trade by those of the first class in Europe ; merchants and bankers, individual houses of whom have once vied in capital with the Bank of England ; whose credit had often supported a tottering state, and preserved their governments in the midst of war and desolation ; millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanics ; millions of the most diligent, and not the least intelligent, tillers of the earth. Here are to be found almost all the religions possessed by men, the Brahminical, the Musselman, the Eastern and the Western Christians. . . .

All this vast mass, composed of so many orders and classes of men, is again infinitely diversified by manners, by religion, by hereditary employment, through all their possible combinations. This renders the handling of India a matter in a high degree critical and delicate. But oh ! it has been handled rudely indeed. Even some of the reformers seem to have forgot that they had anything to do but to regulate the tenants of a manor, or the shopkeepers of the next county town.—*Speech on Fox's India Bill.*

#### THE MALADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

The Tartar invasion was mischievous, but it is our protection that destroys India. It was their enmity, but it is our friendship. Our conquest there, after twenty years, is as crude as it was the first day. The natives scarcely know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman. Young men (boys almost) govern there, without society, and without sympathy with the natives. They have no more social habits with the people than if they still resided in England ;

nor, indeed, any species of intercourse but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune, with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for food that is continually wasting. Every rupee of profit made by an Englishman is lost for ever to India. With us are no retributory superstitions, by which a foundation of charity compensates, through ages, to the poor, for the rapine and injustice of a day. With us no pride erects stately monuments which repair the mischiefs which pride had produced, and which adorn a country out of its own spoils. England has erected no churches, no hospitals, no palaces, no schools; England has built no bridges, made no high-roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description has left some monument, either of state or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by anything better than the orang-outang or the tiger.

There is nothing in the boys we send to India worse than the boys whom we are whipping at school, or that we see trailing a pike, or bending over a desk at home. But as English youth in India drink the intoxicating draught of authority and dominion before their heads are able to bear it, and as they are full grown in fortune long before they are ripe in principle, neither nature nor reason have any opportunity to exert themselves for remedy of the excesses of their premature power. The consequences of their conduct, which in good minds (and many of theirs are probably such) might produce penitence or amendment, are unable to pursue the rapidity of their flight. Their prey is lodged in England, and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean. In India all the vices operate by which sudden fortune is acquired; in England are often displayed, by the same persons, the virtues which dispense hereditary wealth. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the best company in this nation at a board of elegance and hospitality. Here the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppressions and his oppressor. They marry into your families, they enter into your senate, they ease your estates by loans, they raise their value by demand, they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage; and there is scarcely a house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern and interest that makes all reform of our Eastern government appear officious and disgusting; and, on the whole, a most discouraging attempt.

And now, having done my duty to the bill, let me say a word to the author. I should leave him to his own noble sentiments, if the unworthy and illiberal language with which he has been treated, beyond all example of parliamentary

\* This glowing appreciation of Fox—one of the finest panegyrics in the English languages—has a special interest to the student of political history, from the fact that the two statesmen in after-years became bitter opponents over questions arising out of the French Revolution, and were never afterwards reconciled.

liberty, did not make a few words necessary ; not so much in justice to him as to my own feelings. I must say, then, that it will be a distinction honourable to the age, that the rescue of the greatest number of the human race that ever were so grievously oppressed from the greatest tyranny that was ever exercised, has fallen to the lot of abilities and dispositions equal to the task ; that it has fallen to one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the spirit to undertake, and the eloquence to support, so great a measure of hazardous benevolence. His spirit is not owing to his ignorance of the state of men and things. He well knows what snares are spread about his path from personal animosity, from court intrigues, and possibly from popular delusion. But he has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never seen. This is the road that all heroes have trod before him. He is traduced and abused for his supposed motives. He will remember that obloquy is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory : he will remember that it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph. These thoughts will support a mind which only exists for honour under the burthen of temporary reproach. He is doing, indeed, a great good ; such as rarely falls to the lot, and almost as rarely coincides with the desires, of any man. Let him use his time. Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence, where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long, he may do much. But here is the summit. He never can exceed what he does this day.

He has faults, but they are faults that, though they may in a small degree tarnish the lustre, and sometimes impede the march of his abilities, have nothing in them to extinguish the fire of great virtues. In those faults there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, of pride, of ferocity, of complexional despotism, or want of feeling for the distresses of mankind. His are faults which might exist in a descendant of Henry the Fourth of France, as they did exist in that father of his country. Henry the Fourth wished he might live to see a fowl in the pot of every peasant of his kingdom. That sentiment of homely benevolence was worth all the splendid sayings that are recorded of kings. But he wished, perhaps, for more than could be obtained, and the goodness of the man exceeded the power of the king. But this gentleman, a subject, may this day say this at least, with truth, that he secures the rice in his pot to every man in India. A poet of antiquity thought it one of the first distinctions to a prince whom he meant to celebrate, that, through a long succession of generations, he had been the progenitor of an able and virtuous citizen, who by force of the arts of peace had corrected governments of oppression, and suppressed wars of rapine.

*Indole proli quanta juvenis. quantumque daturus  
Ausoniae populis, ventura in sacula civem.  
Ille super Gangem, super exauditus et Indos,  
Implebit terras voce ; et furalia bella  
Fulmine comescet linguæ.*

This was what was said of the predecessor of the only person to whose eloquence it does not wrong that of the mover of this bill to be compared. But the Ganges and the Indus are the patrimony of the fame of my honourable friend, and not of Cicero. I confess, I anticipate with joy the reward of those whose whole consequence, power, and authority exist only for the benefit of mankind ; and I carry my mind to all the people, and all the names and descriptions, that, relieved

by this bill, will bless the labours of this Parliament, and the confidence which the best House of Commons has given to him who the best deserves it. The little cavils of party will not be heard where freedom and happiness will be felt. There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion in India which will not bless the presiding care and manly beneficence of this House, and of him who proposes to you this great work. Your names will never be separated before the throne of the Divine goodness, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is asked for sin, and reward for those who imitate the Godhead in His universal bounty to His creatures. These honours you deserve, and they will surely be paid, when all the jargon of influence, and party, and patronage are swept into oblivion.

THE RAVAGING OF THE CARNATIC\*

When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance; and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

The alms of the settlement in this dreadful exigency were certainly liberal: and all was done by charity that private charity could do: but it was a people in beggary; it was a nation which stretched out its hands for food. For months together these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury in their most

\* This tremendous picture of the desolation of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—one of the most vivid pieces of word-painting to be found in Burke's speeches, prolific as they are in picturesque oratory—was delivered on Feb. 28th, 1785, on a motion by Fox relative to certain debts alleged to be owing by the Nabob of Arcot to officials of the East India Company. It was the failure of the motion that led Burke to undertake the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

plenteous days had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a day in the streets of Madras ; every day seventy at least laid their bodies in the streets, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India. I was going to awake your justice towards this unhappy part of our fellow-citizens, by bringing before you some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities which beset and waylay the life of man, this comes the nearest to our heart, and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is : but I find myself unable to manage it with decorum ; these details are of a species of horrors so nauseous and disgusting ; they are so degrading to the sufferers and to the hearers ; they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that, on better thoughts, I find it more advisable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conceptions.—*Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts.*

#### RAPACITY OF INDIAN OFFICIALS

It is difficult for the most wise and upright Government to correct the abuses of remote delegated power, productive of unmeasured wealth, and protected by the boldness and strength of the same ill-gotten riches. These abuses, full of their own wild native vigour, will grow and flourish under mere neglect. But where the supreme authority, not content with winking at the rapacity of its inferior instruments, is so shameless and corrupt as openly to give bounties and premiums for disobedience to its laws ; when it will not trust to the activity of avarice in pursuit of its own gains ; when it secures public robbery by all the careful jealousy and attention with which it ought to protect property from such violence ; the commonwealth then is become totally perverted from its purposes ; neither God nor man will long endure it ; nor will it long endure itself. In that case, there is an unnatural infection, a pestilential taint fermenting in the constitution of society, which fever and convulsions of some kind or other must throw off ; or in which the vital powers, worsted in an unequal struggle, are pushed back upon themselves, and by a reversal of their own functions, fester to gangrene, to death ; and instead of what was but just now the delight and boast of the creation, there will be cast out in the face of the sun, a bloated, putrid, noisome carcass, full of stench and poison, an offence, a horror, a lesson to the world.—*Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts.*

#### INDIAN CASTE\*

Wives were torn from the arms of their husbands, and suffered the same flagitious wrongs, which were indeed hid in the bottoms of the dungeons, in which their honour and their liberty were buried together.

The women thus treated lost their caste. My Lords, we are not here to commend or blame the institutions and prejudices of a whole race of people, radicated in them by a long succession of ages, on which no reason or argument, on which no vicissitudes of things, no mixture of men, or foreign conquests have been able to make the smallest impression. The aboriginal Gentoo inhabitants are all dispersed into tribes or castes, each caste born to have an invariable rank, rights, and descriptions of employment ; so that one caste cannot by any means pass

\* This is from one of Burke's speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings. These speeches abound in passages of singular beauty, and they display throughout a knowledge of Indian customs remarkable in a man who had never been in India.

into another. With the Gentoos certain impurities or disgraces, though without any guilt of the party, infer loss of caste; and when the highest caste (that of the Brahmin, which is not only noble but sacred) is lost, the person who loses it does not slide down into one lower but reputable—he is wholly driven from all honest society. All the relations of life are at once dissolved. His parents are no longer his parents, his wife is no longer his wife, his children, no longer his, are no longer to regard him as their father. It is something far worse than complete outlawry, complete attainder, and universal excommunication. It is a pollution even to touch him, and if he touches any of his old caste they are justified in putting him to death. Contagion, leprosy, plague are not so much shunned. No honest occupation can be followed. He becomes a *Halichore*\* if (which is rare) he survives that miserable degradation.

#### THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS

In the name of the Commons of England, I charge all this villainy upon Warren Hastings, in this last moment of my application to you.

My Lords, what is it that we want here to a great act of national justice? Do we want a cause, my Lords? You have the cause of oppressed princes, of undone women of the first rank, of desolated provinces, and of wasted kingdoms.

Do you want a criminal, my Lords? When was there so much iniquity ever laid to the charge of any one? No, my Lords, you must not look to punish any other such delinquent from India. Warren Hastings has not left substance enough in India to nourish such another delinquent.

My Lords, is it a prosecutor you want? You have before you the Commons of Great Britain as prosecutors, and I believe, my Lords, that the sun in his beneficent progress round the world does not behold a more glorious sight than that of men, separated from a remote people by the material bonds and barriers of Nature, united by the bond of a social and moral community—all the Commons of England resenting as their own the indignities and cruelties that are offered to all the people of India.

Do we want a tribunal? My Lords, no example of antiquity, nothing in the modern world, nothing in the range of human imagination, can supply us with a tribunal like this. My Lords, here we see virtually in the mind's eye that sacred majesty of the Crown, under whose authority you sit, and whose power you exercise. We see in that invisible authority what we all feel in reality and life, the beneficent powers and protecting justice of his Majesty. We have here the heir-apparent to the Crown, such as the fond wishes of the people of England wish an heir-apparent to the Crown to be. We have here all the branches of the royal family in a situation between majesty and subjection, between the Sovereign and the subject, offering a pledge in that situation for the support of the rights of the Crown and the liberties of the people, both which extremities they touch. My Lords, we have a great hereditary peerage here—those who have their own honour, the honour of their ancestors and of their posterity to guard, and who will justify, as they always have justified, that provision in the Constitution by which justice is made an hereditary office. My Lords, we have here a new nobility, who have risen and exalted themselves by various merits, by great military services, which have extended the fame of this country from the rising to the setting sun; we have those who, by various civil merits and various civil talents, have been exalted

\* The *Halichore*, or more properly *Halalkhor*, is the scavenger of Indian towns—an individual who occupies a position of singular degradation in the eyes of Hindoos.



to a situation which they well deserve, and in which they will justify the favour of their Sovereign and the good opinion of their fellow-subjects, and make them rejoice to see those virtuous characters, that were the other day upon a level with them, now exalted above them in rank, but feeling with them in sympathy what they felt in common with them before. We have persons exalted from the practice of the law—from the place in which they administered high though subordinate justice—to a seat here, to enlighten with their knowledge and to strengthen with their votes those principles which have distinguished the courts in which they have presided.

My Lords, you have here also the light of our religion ; you have the bishops of England. My Lords, you have that true image of the primitive Church in its ancient form, in its ancient ordinances, purified from the superstitions and the vices which a long succession of ages will bring upon the best institutions. You have the representatives of that religion which says that their God is love, that the very vital spirit of their institution is charity—a religion which so much hates oppression, that when the God whom we adore appeared in human form, He did not appear in a form of greatness and majesty, but in sympathy with the lowest of the people, and thereby made it a firm and ruling principle that their welfare was the object of all government, since the person who was the master of Nature chose to appear Himself in a subordinate situation. These are the considerations which influence them, which animate them, and will animate them, against all oppression. knowing that He who is called first among them and first among us all, both of the flock that is fed and of those who feed it, made Himself the servant of all.

My Lords, these are the securities which we have in all the constituent parts of the body of this House. We know them, we reckon, rest, upon them, and commit safely the interests of India and of humanity into your hands. Therefore it is with confidence that, ordered by the Commons,

I impeach Warren Hastings, Esq., of high crimes and misdemeanours.

I impeach him in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed.

I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, whose national character he has dishonoured.

I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate.

I impeach him in the name and by virtue of those eternal laws of justice which he has violated.

I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life.

#### INVIOABLE JUSTICE\*

My Lords, I have done ; the part of the Commons is concluded. With a trembling solicitude we consign this product of our long, long labours to your charge. Take it ; take it. It is a sacred trust. Never before was a cause of such magnitude submitted to any human tribunal. My Lords, your House yet

\* This is the concluding passage of Burke's great speech at the close of Hastings' trial. The orator spoke for nine days, and surpassed himself in the eloquence of his utterances and the profound research which they displayed.

stands ; it stands as a great edifice ; but let me say that it stands in the midst of ruins—in the midst of the ruins that have been made by the greatest moral earthquake that ever convulsed and shattered this globe of ours (the French Revolution). My Lords, it has pleased Providence to place us in such a state, that we appear every moment to be upon the verge of some great mutations. There is one thing, and one thing only, which defies all mutation—that which existed before the world, and will survive the fabric of the world itself—I mean justice ; that justice which, emanating from the Divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us, given us for our guide with regard to ourselves and with regard to others, and which will stand, after this globe is burned to ashes, our advocate or our accuser before the great Judge, when He comes to call upon us for the tenour of a well-spent life. My Lords, if you must fall, may you so fall ; but if you stand—and stand I trust you will, together with the fortune of this ancient monarchy, together with the ancient laws and liberties of this great and illustrious kingdom—may you stand as unimpeached in honour as in power ; may you stand, not as a substitute for virtue, but as an ornament of virtue, as a security for virtue ; may you stand long, and long stand the terror of tyrants ; may you stand the refuge of afflicted nations ; may you stand a sacred temple for the perpetual residence of an inviolable justice.

### WILLIAM PITT (THE YOUNGER), 1759-1806

Second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. Born at Hayes, in Kent, he was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and on coming of age entered Parliament as member for Appleby. He immediately made his mark in the House of Commons. At the age of twenty-three, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Shelburne's Administration. The Fox-North Coalition brought his tenure of office to a close in 1783, but later in that year, on the break-up of that curious political combination, he was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry. For the next seventeen years he directed the destinies of the country with masterly skill. A disagreement with the King upon the Roman Catholic question brought about his retirement in 1801. In May, 1804, he was again called upon to form an Administration. His final tenure of power was but brief. Worn out with public cares and harassed by private difficulties, he died at his villa at Wimbledon on Jan. 23rd, 1806. A public funeral in Westminster Abbey was voted him by a grateful country.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE\*

Now, Sir, I come to Africa. That is the ground on which I rest, and here it is that I say my right honourable friends do not carry their principles to their full extent. Why ought the slave trade to be abolished ? *Because it is incurable INJUSTICE !* How much stronger, then, is the argument for immediate than gradual abolition ! By allowing it to continue even for one hour, do not my right honourable friends weaken—do not they desert their own argument of its injustice ? If on the ground of injustice it ought to be abolished at last, why ought it not now ? Why is injustice to be suffered to remain for a single hour ? From what I hear without doors, it is evident that there is a general conviction

\* Amongst Pitt's many orations, the speech from which these extracts are taken is perhaps the greatest. It was delivered in the House of Commons in May, 1792, on a motion by Wilberforce for the immediate abolition of the slave trade instead of the gradual system favoured by the Opposition. Wilberforce in his diary says of the speech : " Windham, who has no love for Pitt, tells me that Fox and Grey, with whom he walked home from the debate, agreed in thinking Pitt's speech one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they had ever heard. For the last twenty minutes he really seemed to be inspired."

entertained of its being far from just, and from that very conviction of its injustice some men have been led, I fear, to the supposition that the slave trade never could have been permitted to begin, but from some strong and irresistible necessity ; a necessity, however, which, if it was fancied to exist at first, I have shown cannot be thought by any man whatever to exist at present. This plea of necessity, thus presumed, and presumed, as I suspect, from the circumstance of injustice itself, has caused a sort of acquiescence in the continuance of this evil. Men have been led to place it in the rank of those necessary evils which are supposed to be the lot of human creatures, and to be permitted to fall upon some countries or individuals, rather than upon others by that Being whose ways are inscrutable to us, and whose dispensations, it is conceived, we ought not to look into. The origin of evil is, indeed, a subject beyond the reach of the human understanding ; and the permission of it by the Supreme Being is a subject into which it belongs not to us to inquire. But where the evil in question is a moral evil which a man can scrutinise, and where that moral evil has its origin with ourselves, let us not imagine that we can clear our consciences by this general, not to say irreligious and impious, way of laying aside the question. If we reflect at all on this subject, we must see that every necessary evil supposes that some other and greater evil would be incurred were it removed. I therefore desire to ask, what can be that greater evil which can be stated to over-balance the one in question ? I know of no evil that ever has existed, nor can imagine any evil to exist, worse than the tearing of EIGHTY THOUSAND PERSONS annually from their native land, by a combination of the most civilised nations in the most enlightened quarter of the globe ; but more especially by that nation which calls herself the most free and the most happy of them all. Even if these miserable beings were proved guilty of every crime before you take them off, of which, however, not a single proof is adduced, ought we to take upon ourselves the office of executioners ? And even if we condescend so far, still can we be justified in taking them, unless we have clear proof that they are criminals ?

I have shown how great is the enormity of this evil, even on the supposition that we take only convicts and prisoners of war. But take the subject in the other way ; take it on the grounds stated by the right honourable gentleman over the way ; and how does it stand ? Think of EIGHTY THOUSAND persons carried away out of their country by *we know not what means* ; for crimes imputed, for light or inconsiderable faults, for debt, perhaps, for the crime of witchcraft, or a thousand other weak and scandalous prettexts ! Besides all the fraud and kidnapping, the villainies and perfidy, by which the slave trade is supplied. Reflect on these eighty thousand persons thus annually taken off ! There is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. Admitting that there exists in Africa something like to courts of justice ; yet what an office of humiliation and meanness is it in us to take upon ourselves to carry into execution the partial, the cruel, iniquitous sentences of such courts, as if we also were strangers to all religion and to the first principles of justice.

But that country, it is said, has been in some degree civilised, and civilised by us. It is said they have gained some knowledge of the principles of justice. What, Sir, have they gained the principles of justice from *us* ? Is their civilisation brought about by us ? Yes, we give them enough of our intercourse to convey to them the means, and to initiate them in the study of mutual destruction. We give them just enough of the forms of justice to enable them to add the pretext of legal trials to their other modes of perpetrating the most atrocious iniquity. We give them just enough of European improvements to enable them the more

effectually to turn Africa into a ravaged wilderness. Some evidences say that the Africans are addicted to the practice of gambling; that they even sell their wives and children, and ultimately themselves. Are these, then, the legitimate sources of slavery? Shall we pretend that we can thus acquire an honest right to exact the labour of these people? Can we pretend that we have a right to carry away to distant regions men of whom we know nothing by authentic inquiry, and of whom there is every reasonable presumption to think that those who sell them to us have no right to do so? But the evil does not stop here. I feel that there is not time for me to make all the remarks which the subject deserves, and I refrain from attempting to enumerate half the dreadful consequences of this system. Do you think nothing of the ruin and the miseries in which so many other individuals, still remaining in Africa, are involved in consequence of carrying off so many myriads of people? Do you think nothing of their families which are left behind; of the connections which are broken; of the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are burst asunder? Do you think nothing of the miseries in consequence, that are felt from generation to generation; of the privation of that happiness which might be communicated to them by the introduction of civilisation, and of mental and moral improvement? A happiness which you withhold from them so long as you permit the slave trade to continue. What do you yet know of the internal state of Africa? You have carried on a trade to that quarter of the globe from this civilised and enlightened country; but, such a trade, that, instead of diffusing either knowledge or wealth, it has been the check to every laudable pursuit. Instead of any fair interchange of commodities; instead of conveying to them, from this highly favoured land, any means of improvement, you carry with you that noxious plant by which everything is withered and blasted; under whose shade nothing that is useful or profitable to Africa will ever flourish or take root. Long as that continent has been known to navigators, the extreme line and boundaries of its coasts is all with which Europe has yet become acquainted; while other countries in the same parallel of latitude, through a happier system of intercourse, have reaped the blessings of a mutually beneficial commerce. But as to the whole interior of that continent, you are, by your own principles of commerce, as yet entirely shut out. Africa is known to you only in its skirts. Yet even there you are able to infuse a poison that spreads its contagious effects from one end of it to the other; which penetrates to its very centre, corrupting every part to which it reaches. You there subvert the whole order of Nature; you aggravate every Natural barbarity, and furnish to every man living on that continent motives for committing, under the name and pretext of commerce, acts of perpetual violence and perfidy against his neighbour.

Thus, Sir, has the perversion of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole quarter of the globe. False to the very principles of trade, misguided in our policy, and unmindful of our duty, what astonishing, I had almost said, what *irreparable* mischief, have we brought upon that continent! How shall we hope to obtain, if it be possible, forgiveness from Heaven for those enormous evils we have committed, if we refuse to make use of those means which the mercy of Providence hath still reserved to us, for wiping away the guilt and shame with which we are now covered. If we refuse even this degree of compensation; if, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Great Britain! and what a blot will these transactions for ever be in the history of this country! Shall we, then, delay to repair these injuries, and to begin rendering justice to Africa!

Shall we not count the days and hours that are suffered to intervene, and to delay the accomplishment of such a work ? Reflect what an immense object is before you ; what an object for a nation to have in view, and to have a prospect, under the favour of Providence, of being now permitted to attain ! I think the House will agree with me in cherishing the ardent wish to enter without delay upon the measures necessary for these great ends ; and I am sure that the immediate abolition of the slave trade is the first, the principal, the most indispensable act of policy, of duty, and of justice, that the Legislature of this country has to take, if it is indeed their wish to secure those important objects to which I have alluded, and which we are bound to pursue by the most solemn obligations.

Having now detained the House so long, all that I will further add shall be on that important subject, the civilisation of Africa, which I have already shown that I consider as the leading feature in this question. Grieved am I to think that there should be a single person in this country, much more that there should be a single member in the British Parliament, who can look on the present dark, uncultivated, and uncivilised state of that continent as a ground for continuing the slave trade ; as a ground not only for refusing to attempt the improvement of Africa, but even for hindering and intercepting every ray of light which might otherwise break in upon her, as a ground for refusing to her the common chance and the common means with which other nations have been blessed, of emerging from their native barbarism.

Here, as in every other branch of this extensive question, the argument of our adversaries pleads against them ; for surely, Sir, the present deplorable state of Africa, especially when we reflect that her chief calamities are to be ascribed to us, calls for our generous aid, rather than justifies any despair on our part of her recovery, and still less any further repetition of our injuries.

I will not much longer fatigue the attention of the House ; but this point has impressed itself so deeply on my mind, that I must trouble the committee with a few additional observations. Are we justified, I ask, on any theory, or by any one instance to be found in the history of the world, from its very beginning to this day, in forming the supposition which I am now combating ? Are we justified in supposing that the particular practice which we encourage in Africa, of men's selling each other for slaves, is any symptom of a barbarism that is incurable ? Are we justified in supposing that even the practice of offering up human sacrifices proves a total incapacity for civilisation ? I believe it will be found, and perhaps much more generally than is supposed, that both the trade in slaves, and the still more savage custom of offering human sacrifices, obtained in former periods, throughout many of those nations which now, by the blessings of Providence, and by a long progression of improvements, are advanced the furthest in civilisation. I believe, Sir, that, if we will reflect an instant, we shall find that this observation comes directly home to our own selves ; and that, on the same ground on which we are now disposed to proscribe Africa for ever from all possibility of improvement, we ourselves might, in like manner, have been proscribed, and for ever shut out from all the blessings which we now enjoy.

There was a time, Sir, which it may be fit sometimes to revive in the remembrance of our countrymen, when even human sacrifices are said to have been offered in this island. But I would especially observe on this day, for it is a case precisely in point, that the very practice of the slave trade once prevailed among us. Slaves, as we may read in Henry's "*History of Great Britain*," were formerly an established article of our exports. "Great numbers," he says, "were exported like cattle from the British coast, and were to be seen exposed for sale

in the Roman market." It does not distinctly appear by what means they were procured; but there was unquestionably no small resemblance, in this particular point, between the case of our ancestors and that of the present wretched natives of Africa; for the historian tells you that "adultery, witchcraft, and debt were probably some of the chief sources of supplying the Roman market with British slaves; that prisoners taken in war were added to the number; and that there might be among them some unfortunate gamblers who, after having lost all their goods, at length staked themselves, their wives, and their children." Everyone of these sources of slavery has been stated, and almost precisely in the same terms, to be at this hour a source of slavery in Africa. And these circumstances, Sir, with a solitary instance or two of human sacrifices, furnish the alleged proofs that Africa labours under a natural incapacity for civilisation; that it is enthusiasm and fanaticism to think that she can ever enjoy the knowledge and the morals of Europe; that Providence never intended her to rise above a state of barbarism; that Providence has irrevocably doomed her to be only a nursery for slaves for us free and civilised Europeans. Allow of this principle, as applied to Africa, and I should be glad to know why it might not also have been applied to ancient and uncivilised Britain. Why might not some Roman senator, reasoning on the principles of some honourable gentlemen, and pointing to British barbarians, have predicted with equal boldness, "There is a people that will never rise to civilisation—there is a people destined never to be free—a people without the understanding necessary for the attainment of useful arts; depressed by the hand of Nature below the level of the human species; and created to form a supply of slaves for the rest of the world." Might not this have been said, according to the principles which we now hear stated, in all respects as fairly and as truly of Britain herself, at that period of her history, as it can now be said by us of the inhabitants of Africa?

We, Sir, have long since emerged from barbarism. We have almost forgotten that we were once barbarians. We are now raised to a situation which exhibits a striking contrast to every circumstance by which a Roman might have characterised us, and by which we now characterise Africa. There is, indeed, one thing wanted to complete the contrast, and to clear us altogether from the imputation of acting even to this hour as barbarians; for we continue to this hour a barbarous traffic in slaves; we continue it even yet, in spite of all our great and undeniable pretensions to civilisation. We were once as obscure among the nations of the earth, as savage in our manners, as debased in our morals, as degraded in our understandings, as these unhappy Africans are at present. But in the lapse of a long series of years, by a progression slow, and for a time almost imperceptible, we have become rich in a variety of acquirements, favoured above measure in the gifts of Providence, unrivalled in commerce, pre-eminent in arts, foremost in the pursuits of philosophy and science, and established in all the blessings of civil society. We are in the possession of peace, of happiness, and of liberty. We are under the guidance of a mild and beneficent religion; and we are protected by impartial laws, and the purest administration of justice. We are living under a system of government which our own happy experience leads us to pronounce the best and wisest which has ever yet been framed; a system which has become the admiration of the world. From all these blessings we must for ever have been shut out, had there been any truth in those principles which some gentlemen have not hesitated to lay down as applicable to the case of Africa. Had those principles been true, we ourselves had languished to this hour in that miserable state of ignorance, brutality, and degradation, in which history proves

our ancestry to have been immersed. Had other nations adopted these principles in their conduct toward us, had other nations applied to Great Britain the reasoning which some of the senators of this very island now apply to Africa, ages might have passed without our emerging from barbarism; and we who are enjoying the blessings of British civilisation, of British laws, and British liberty, might, at this hour, have been little superior, either in morals, in knowledge, or refinement, to the rude inhabitants of the coast of Guinea.

If, then, we feel that this perpetual confinement in the fetters of brutal ignorance would have been the greatest calamity which could have befallen us; if we view with gratitude and exultation the contrast between the peculiar blessings we enjoy, and the wretchedness of the ancient inhabitants of Britain; if we shudder to think of the misery which would still have overwhelmed us had Great Britain continued to the present times to be a mart for slaves to the more civilised nations of the world, through some cruel policy of theirs, God forbid that *we* should any longer subject Africa to the same dreadful scourge, and preclude the light of knowledge, which has reached every other quarter of the globe, from having access to her coasts.

I trust we shall no longer continue this commerce, to the destruction of every improvement on that wide continent; and shall not consider ourselves as conferring too great a boon, in restoring its inhabitants to the rank of human beings. I trust we shall not think ourselves too liberal, if, by abolishing the slave trade, we give them the same common chance of civilisation with other parts of the world, and that we shall now allow to Africa the opportunity, the hope, the prospect of attaining to the same blessings which we ourselves, through the favourable dispensations of Divine Providence, have been permitted, at a much more early period, to enjoy. If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue this night the line of conduct which they prescribe, some of us may live to see a reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period in still later times may blaze with full lustre; and joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe, shall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world. Then, also, will Europe, participating in her improvement and prosperity, receive an ample recompense for the tardy kindness (if kindness it can be called) of no longer hindering that continent from extricating herself out of the darkness which, in other more fortunate regions, has been so much more speedily dispelled.

—Nos que ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis;  
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper.\*

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\* On us, while early dawn with panting steeds,  
Breathes at his rising, ruddy eve for *them*  
Lights up her fires slow-coming.

—Virgil's "Georgics."

Then, Sir, may be applied to Africa those words, originally used, indeed, with a different view :

His demum exactis——  
Devenere locos lætos, et amœna vireta  
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas,  
Largior hic campos Æther et lumine vestit  
Purpuero.\*

It is in this view, Sir—it is an atonement for our long and cruel injustice toward Africa, that the measure proposed by my honourable friend most forcibly recommends itself to my mind. The great and happy change to be expected in the state of her inhabitants, is, of all the various and important benefits of the abolition, in my estimation, incomparably the most extensive and important.

I shall vote, Sir, against the adjournment ; and I shall also oppose to the utmost every proposition which in any way may tend either to prevent, or even to postpone for an hour, the total abolition of the slave trade : a measure which, on all the various grounds which I have stated, we are bound, by the most pressing and indispensable duty, to adopt.

#### FRENCH AGGRESSION†

If we look to the whole complexion of this transaction, the duplicity, the arrogance, and violence which has appeared in the course of the negotiation with the French Government, if we take from thence our opinion of its general result, we shall be justified in our conclusion—not that the people of France—not that the whole Government of France—but that part of the Government which had too much influence, and has now the whole ascendancy, never was sincere—was determined to accept of no terms but such as would make it neither durable nor safe ; such as could only be accepted by this country by a surrender of all its interests, and by a sacrifice of every pretension to the character of a great, a powerful, or an independent nation.

This, Sir, is inference no longer. You have their own open avowal. You have it stated in the subsequent declaration of France itself that it is not against your commerce, that it is not against your wealth, it is not against your possessions in the East, or your colonies in the West, it is not against even the source of your maritime greatness, it is not against any of the appendages of your empire, but against the very essence of liberty, against the foundation of your independence, against the citadel of your happiness, against your Constitution itself, that their hostilities are directed. They have themselves announced and proclaimed the proposition that what they mean to bring with their invading armies is the genius of *their* liberty. I desire no other word to express the subversion of the British Constitution, and the substitution of the most malignant and fatal contrast—the annihilation of British liberty, and the obliteration of everything that has rendered you a great, a flourishing, and a happy people.

This is what is at issue. From this are we to declare ourselves in a manner that deprecates the rage which our enemies will not dissemble, and which will be little moved by our entreaty ! Under such circumstances are we ashamed or

\* These rites performed, they reach those happy fields,  
Gardens, and groves, and seats of living joy,  
Where the pure ether spreads with wider sway  
And throws a purple light o'er all the plains.

—*Virgil's "Æneid,"* book vi.



afraid to declare, in a firm and manly tone, our resolution to defend ourselves, or to speak the language of truth with the energy that belongs to Englishmen united in such a cause? Sir, I do not scruple, for one, to say, "If I knew nothing by which I could state to myself a probability of the contest terminating in our favour, I would maintain that the contest with its worst chances is preferable to an acquiescence in such demands."

If I could look at this as a dry question of prudence, if I could calculate it upon the mere grounds of interest, I would say, if we love that degree of national power which is necessary for the independence of the country and its safety, if we regard domestic tranquillity, if we look at individual enjoyment from the highest to the meanest among us, there is not a man whose stake is so great in the country that he ought to hesitate a moment in sacrificing any portion of it to oppose the violence of the enemy—nor is there, I trust, a man in this happy and free nation whose stake is so small that would not be ready to sacrifice his life in the same cause. If we look at it with a view to *safety*, this would be our conduct. But if we look at it upon the principle of true honour, of the character which we have to support, of the example which we have to set to the other nations of Europe; if we view rightly the lot in which Providence has placed us, and the contrast between ourselves and all the other countries in Europe, gratitude to that Providence should inspire us to make every effort in such a cause. There may be danger; but on the one side there is danger accompanied with honour; on the other side there is danger, with indelible shame and disgrace; upon such an alternative Englishmen will not hesitate. I wish to disguise no part of my sentiments upon the grounds on which I put the issue of the contest. I ask, whether up to the principles I have stated we are prepared to act? Having done so, my opinion is not altered; my hopes, however, are animated by the reflection that the means of our safety are in our own hands; for there never was a period when we had more to encourage us. In spite of heavy burdens, the radical strength of the nation never showed itself more conspicuous; its revenue never exhibited greater proofs of the wealth of the country; the same objects which constitute the blessings we have to fight for furnish us with the means of continuing them. But it is not upon that point I rest. There is one great resource, which I trust will never abandon us, and which has shone forth in the English character, by which we have preserved our existence and fame as a nation, which I trust we shall be determined never to abandon under any extremity, but shall join hand and heart in the solemn pledge that is proposed to us, and declare to his Majesty "that we know great exertions are wanted; that we are prepared to make them; and are, at all events, determined to stand or fall by the laws, liberties, and religion of our country."—*Speech delivered in the House of Commons in November, 1797.*

CHARLES JAMES FOX, 1749-1806

The eminent Whig statesman. Born in Conduit Street, London, he was the third son of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland. After completing his education at Westminster, Eton, and Oxford, he entered Parliament as member for Midhurst when only nineteen years of age. In 1770 he became a Lord of the Admiralty in Lord North's Administration, and three years later became a Commissioner of the Treasury. A disagreement with Lord North terminated his official career. For the next few years he was in opposition, closely co-operating with Burke in attacks on the policy of the Government in regard to America. When Lord Rockingham attained to power early in 1782, Fox became Foreign Secretary, but he resigned on the death of the Premier in July of the same year. In 1783 Fox became associated with Lord North in the Coalition Ministry. The fruit of this association was the introduction by Fox of his famous East India Bill. This measure went successfully through all its stages in the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. The defeat was followed by the resignation of the Ministry and the accession of Pitt to power. For the next twenty years Fox remained in opposition, largely in consequence of the inveterate dislike conceived for him by the King. A determined and uncompromising opponent of Pitt's policy, he waged unceasing war against that statesman's measures, particularly in regard to France. On the death of his great rival he in 1806 returned to office as Secretary of State, but his tenure of power was shortlived. In September following he died at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, and was buried side by side with Pitt in Westminster Abbey. Scott's well known lines on the association in death of the two great rivals may be quoted :—

Where, turning thought to human pride,  
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side,  
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,  
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier ;  
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,  
And Fox's shall the notes rebound.  
The solemn echo seems to cry—  
" Here let their discord with them die,  
Speak not for those a separate doom,  
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb ;  
But search the land of living men,  
Where wilt thou find their like again ? "

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

THE most prevalent opinion is that, where the whole national strength and resources are vested in a single person, or a few, all the functions of Government, especially in time of war, are performed with greater facility and despatch. Secrecy, which is the life of counsel, is then preserved inviolate, and the vigour of exertion only bounded by the abilities of the State. Thus expedition, which constitutes the most advantageous circumstance in almost every enterprise, is secured. The blow is often struck, and the necessary precautions taken, before the cause transpires, and the power and wisdom of Government acquire popularity and applause from the successful effects of their measures. Nothing can be more absurd than to expect the same convenience in popular Governments. Here the political machine depends on such a complication of springs, that no single hand can touch it into harmony and effect. The general movements of this curious system result from such a variety and combination of subordinate and distinct principles as must unavoidably render them sure but slow, more regular, perhaps, but less vigorous, and liable to abortion or defeat, either from the knowledge or interference of the public.

This speculative proposition is incontestable. The advantages, notwithstanding, of an arbitrary are greatly overbalanced by those of a free Government.

No society is constituted solely for war. It would be imprudent not to provide against such a contingency, but absurd to make it the exclusive object of every civil institution. In this respect, therefore, free are infinitely preferable to despotic States. The latter seem modelled only, with a few exceptions, to circumstances of hostility, the former are chiefly calculated for times of peace. These more effectually protect men in their persons and properties, encourage and stimulate the exertions of individuals, call forth and occupy talents in the public service that might otherwise be lost in obscurity, assist the enterprises of trade and commerce, inspire the love of our country, and countenance a spirit of honest independence. No modification of society can be altogether free from inconvenience, but that is certainly the best, on the whole, which puts every man as nearly on a level as possible, by subjecting all equally to the same laws. This happily combines every member of the society in one common interest, and creates a personal as well as public pride, which, when properly directed and judiciously restrained, is the strongest incitement to magnanimity and glory.

These are some of the advantages and disadvantages which, in theory, are generally annexed to Governments where the whole power is lodged in the hands of one man, and those constituted upon the broad basis of public freedom. On this subject, however, the language of experience is very different from that of speculation. And it will be found, in fact, that the arts of peace have not been uniformly more successfully cultivated in republican states, nor those of war in countries purely arbitrary and despotic. No nations have been more generally successful in war than those in which the whole body of the people had a share in the public councils. And none have oftener failed than such as totally excluded their least interference in the administration of state affairs. The ancient republics of Greece and Rome exemplify this observation in all its latitude. And this country will remain an everlasting monument of the prosperous and almost irresistible exertions of a mixed Government. It is obvious, at least, from the whole tenour of our history, that even our hostile enterprises were only successful in proportion as planned and executed in the true spirit of the Constitution. Both Holland and Switzerland may also be quoted as a proof that no form of government is so well calculated for the happiness of its subjects, for internal prosperity and external strength, as that in which the sovereignty is delegated from the people and exercised by the executive power, under their cognisance and control.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on March 3rd, 1779, on the motion of censure on the Earl of Sandwich, the head of the Board of Admiralty.*

#### NATIONAL DANGERS

The necessity of national exertion at this moment is obvious. The people know well the origin of monarchy. It is the reward which gratitude induced them to pay individuals of extraordinary heroism and virtue for rescuing them from slavery, extending, planning, or establishing their interest, or other eminent or patriotic actions. Such is the origin of kingly authority, and what gratitude at first produced, prescription, habit, happiness in some instances, and weakness in others, combined and maintained. Nations are excusable for conferring royalty on the man who gives them glory and empire. But what opprobrium must that people suffer who permit themselves to be enslaved in a reign not immortalised by the lustre of enterprise? They have no other apology than tameness, servility, and corruption. Were the value of liberty unknown, were its nature either undefined or misunderstood, ignorance might cover their insignificance. They

might be pitied. They could not be condemned. But, having every advantage of information and science, the amplest liberty, and the justest sense of its worth, with the example before their eyes what manly resistance must produce, their indifference will be universally detested, and infamy added to ruin.

Nothing but the determined resolution of the people, the temperate and firm decision of Englishmen, united in one plan and pressing to one point, can now save them. Thus united, thus resolved, thus acting, no Prince however obstinate, no Parliament however venal, can oppose or resist them with effect. Call to mind the treatment you have received, the manner in which you have been loaded with taxes, and that, in the midst of public calamity and public want, the yearly revenue of the Sovereign is increased a hundred thousand pounds, and that he is the only person whose estate is not to suffer from the incapacity and prodigality of his servants; and judge for yourselves whether you have anything to expect from such a Ministry and such measures. You must be the ministers of your own deliverance, and the road to it is open. You see the effects of manly resolution. Your brethren in America and Ireland show you how to act when bad men force you to feel. Are we not born heirs of the same privileges? Are we not possessed of equal veneration for our lives and liberties? Does not the blood flow as freely in our veins as in theirs? Are we not as capable as they are of spurning at life when unaccompanied with freedom? Did not our forefathers fight and bleed for their rights, and transmit them as the most valuable legacy they could bequeath to posterity? And shall we not then, join heart and hand to do ourselves right in this crisis of danger and oppression? Shall the heart of the Empire be tame and lifeless while her limbs are in activity and motion? No! I trust Corruption has not yet extended her debilitating influence to the people, who are the vitals of the great body politic.—*From a Speech in Westminster Hall on Feb. 2, 1780, at a meeting held to consider the state of the nation.*

#### THE COALITION MINISTRY

An honourable gentleman (Mr. Martin), to whom an abuse of the coalition seems a sort of luxury, wishes that a starling were at the right hand of the chair to cry out, "Disgraceful coalition!" Sir, upon this subject I shall offer but a few words.

The calamitous situation of this country at the close of the war required an Administration whose stability could give it a tone of firmness with foreign nations, and promise some hope of restoring the faded glories of the country. Such an Administration could not be formed without some junction of parties; and, if former differences were to be an insurmountable barrier to union, no chance of salvation remained for the country, as it was well known that four public men could not be found who had not, at one time or other, taken opposite sides in politics. The great cause of difference between us and the noble lord in the blue riband\* no longer existed; his personal character stood high, and thinking it safer to trust him than those who had before deceived us, we preferred to unite with the noble lord. A similar junction, in 1757, against which a similar clamour was raised, saved the Empire from ruin, and raised it above the rivalry of all its enemies. The country, when we came into office, bore not a very auspicious complexion; yet I do not despair of seeing it once again resume its consequence in the scale of nations, and make as splendid a figure as ever. Those who have asserted the impossibility of our agreeing with the noble lord and his friends,

\* Lord North.

were false prophets; and events have belied their augury. We have differed like men, and like men we have agreed.

A body of the best and honestest men in this House, who serve their country without any other reward than the glory of the disinterested discharge of their public duty, approved of that junction, and sanctify that measure by their cordial support.

Such, Sir, is this coalition, which the state of the country rendered indispensable, and for which the history of every country records a thousand precedents. Yet to this the term *disgraceful* is applied. Is it not extraordinary, then, that gentlemen should be under such spells of delusion as not to see that if calling it disgraceful makes it so, these epithets operate with equal force against themselves? If the coalition be disgraceful, what is the *anti-coalition*? When I see a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) surrounded by the early objects of his political, nay his hereditary hatred, and hear him revile the coalition, I am lost in astonishment how men can be so blind to their own situation as to attempt to wound us in this particular point, possessed as we are of the power of returning the same blow, with the vulnerable part staring us directly in the face. To the honourable gentleman who wishes that a starling were perched upon the right hand of the chair, I must reply, that it would be quite as reasonable to have another starling on the left hand of the chair, to chirp up coalition against coalition, and so harmonise their mutual disgrace, if disgrace there there be.

With equal consistency another honourable gentleman calls us *deserters*—us! A few cold and disaffected members fall off, then turn about, and, to palliate their own defection, call the body of the army *deserters*. We have not deserted; here we are a firm phalanx. Deserted indeed we have been in the moment of disaster, but never dejected, and seldom complaining. Some of those who rose upon our wreck, and who eagerly grasped that power which we had the labour of erecting, now call us deserters. We retort the term with just indignation. Yes, whilst they presume we have the attributes of men, they would expect us to have the obduracy of savages. They would have our resentments insatiate, our rancour eternal. In our opinion, an oblivion of useless animosity is much more noble; and in that the conduct of our accusers goes hand and hand with us. But I beg of the House, and I wish the world to observe, that although, like them, we have abandoned our enmities, we have not, like them, relinquished our friendships. . . .

I have failings in common with every human being besides my own particular faults; but of avarice I have indeed held myself guiltless. My abuse has been for many years even the profession of several people; it was their traffic, their livelihood; yet until this moment I knew not that avarice was in the catalogue of the sins imputed to me. Ambition, I confess, I have, but not ambition upon a narrow bottom, or built upon paltry principles. If, from the devotion of my life to political objects, if from the direction of my industry to the attainment of some knowledge of the Constitution and the true interests of the British Empire, the ambition of taking no mean part in those acts that elevate nations, and make a people happy, be criminal, that ambition I acknowledge. And as to party spirit—that I feel it, that I have been ever under its impulse, and that I ever shall, is what I proclaim to the world; that I am one of a party, a party never known to sacrifice the interests or barter the liberties of the nation for mercenary purposes, for personal emolument or honours; a party linked together upon principles which comprehend whatever is dear and most precious to freemen, and essential to a free Constitution, is my pride and my boast.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Dec. 1st, 1783.*

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

If the history of my life were to be searched, this would be found the period in which I have struggled most for the cause of liberty. Freedom, according to my conception of it, consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property, governed by laws defined and certain; with many personal privileges, natural, civil, and religious, which he cannot surrender without ruin to himself; and of which to be deprived by another power is despotism. This bill, instead of subverting, is destined to stabilitate these principles; instead of narrowing the basis of freedom, it tends to enlarge it; instead of suppressing, its object is to infuse and circulate the spirit of liberty.

What is the most obvious species of tyranny? Precisely that which this bill is meant to annihilate. That a handful of men, free themselves, should execute the most base and abominable despotism over millions of their fellow-creatures; that innocence should be the victim of oppression; that industry should toil for rapine; that the harmless labourer should sweat, not for his own benefit, but for the luxury and rapacity of tyrannic depredation. In a word, that thirty millions of men, gifted by Providence with the ordinary endowments of humanity, should groan under a system of despotism unmatched in all the histories of the world.

What is the end of all Governments? Certainly the happiness of the governed! Others may hold other opinions; but this is mine, and I proclaim it. What are we to think of a Government whose good fortune is supposed to spring from the calamities of its subjects, whose aggrandisement grows out of the miseries of mankind? This is the kind of government exercised under the East India Company upon the natives of Hindostan; and the subversion of that infamous government is the main object of the bill in question.—*From the Speech in the House of Commons on Nov. 18th, 1783, introducing the Bill for the better management of the East India Company.*

## SLAVERY

Humanity, Sir, does not consist of a squeamish ear. It belongs to the mind as well as to the nerves, and leads a man to take measures for the prevention of cruelty, which the hypocritical cant of humanity contents itself with deploring. What do we do? In our indignation of justice, we condemn to death a low pilferer—a pickpocket or a highwayman. And the same Legislature that makes such crimes (which, comparatively, may be called innocence itself) sanctifies the pillage, robberies, and murders of this horrid trade. What is the consequence of this compromise? That it unsettles the principles of justice in the minds of men—that it takes from the Legislature the strong hold which it ought to have in its character, and the influence which it would derive from integrity and consistency. It is as necessary in sound policy as it is in justice and honour to abolish a trade which militates against our own morals and police at home, as well as against our national character abroad.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on April 18th, 1790, on Wilberforce's motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

## THE HORRORS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It has been said, and truly, that one of the most evil consequences of war is, that it tends to render the hearts of mankind callous to the feelings and sentiments of humanity. When we daily hear of the massacres of such numbers of individuals

that memory cannot even recollect their names !—when we contemplate the slaughters at Lyons, at Marseilles, at Bordeaux, at Toulon !—I much fear that the effect will be injurious to the morals of Europe. The misfortunes at these and other places are so great, that the mind is bewildered and amazed in the magnitude and complication of the misery. I am clearly of opinion that the human mind may be made so familiar with misery, and scenes of horror, as at last to disregard them, or at least to view them with indifference. It is difficult always to preserve the acuteness of the feelings ; and it is in my mind no small misfortune to live at a period when scenes of horror and blood are frequent. By the constant repetition of such scenes, our feelings are by degrees blunted, and in time we become indifferent to what would at first interest us with the most amiable sympathy and distress. Humanity, on this account, has been by the stoics deemed a weakness in our natures, and in their opinions impeded the progress of judgment, and consequently the improvements of morals ; but my sentiments so widely differ from theirs, that I think humanity not only a weakness, but the strongest and safest friend to virtue. No man can lament more than I do the mischief done to mankind by making the heart too familiar with misery and rendering it at last indifferent ; because on the heart and on the feelings chiefly depend our love of virtue, more than on the wisest precepts of the wisest man.

This humanity is one of the most beautiful parts of the divine system of Christianity, which teaches us not only to do good to mankind, but to love each other as brethren ; and this all depends on the sensibility of our hearts, the greatest blessing bestowed by Providence on man, and without which he would, with the most refined and polished understanding, be no better than a savage. In my opinion, the feelings of all Europe have already suffered by the repeated horrors of France ; but with regard to their cause, I confess it is my belief that the French have in a great measure been driven to these violent scenes of bloodshed and horror. It is with a nation as with an individual ; for if an individual be placed in a situation in which he feels himself abandoned by the whole world, he finds that no one is his friend, no one is interested in his happiness and welfare, but all mankind, as it were, by general consent, his enemies, he must become a misanthrope and a savage, unless he possessed a mind more heroic and exalted than any we have a right to expect. Such was the situation in which France had been placed ; almost all Europe united against that single people, not for the purpose of regaining any territory upon the Rhine, or restraining the strides of an ambitious monarch towards universal empire, as was the case of the combination against Louis XIV. ; not for the purpose of repelling an aggression, or to obtain reparation for an injury, or satisfaction for an insult, or indemnification for losses, and security for future peace, but for the open and avowed purpose of destroying a people, or compelling them to accept a form of government to be imposed upon them by force of arms ; and that, too, the form which, from every conjecture possible to be made, that which they most detest and abhor, their ancient monarchy. Can it be wondered at that the French, under such circumstances, are savage and ferocious ? I do not say that it is the intention of the combined Powers to compel them to return to their ancient form of government ; it is enough that they are under the apprehension of it, and that almost the whole of Europe are leagued in arms against them ; and no man can deny that, as a people, they have an equitable and moral right to resist such an attempt, and to refuse their submission to such dictation.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons in 1794, on a Bill to enable the King to take into British pay and embody Frenchmen for the purpose of serving on the Continent.*

## THREATENED WAR WITH RUSSIA\*

I return, Sir, to the disgraceful condition in which the right honourable gentleman has involved us. Let us see whether what I have said on this point be not literally true. The Empress of Russia offered, early in the year 1790, to depart from the terms she had at first thrown out, namely, that Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia should be independent of the Ottoman power. This, it appears, she yielded upon the amicable representations of the allied Powers, and substituted in the room of them those conditions which have since been conceded to her, namely, that the Dniester should be the boundary between the two Empires, and all former treaties should be confirmed. "Then," say Ministers, "if we gained this by simple negotiation, what may we not gain by an armament?" Thus, judging of her pusillanimity by their own, they threatened her. What did she do? Peremptorily refused to depart one atom from her last conditions; and this determination, I assert, was in the possession of his Majesty's Ministers long before the armament. They knew not only this, early in the month of March, 1791, but likewise the resolution of the Empress not to rise in her demands, notwithstanding any further success that might attend her arms. The memorial of the Court of Denmark, which they have, for reasons best known to themselves, refused us but which was circulated in every Court, and published in every newspaper in Europe, fully informed them of these matters. \* But the King's Ministers, with an absurdity of which there is no example, called upon the country to arm. Why? Not because they meant to employ the armament against her, but in the fanciful hope that, because, in an amicable negotiation, the Empress had been prevailed upon not to press the demand of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia as independent sovereignties, they should infallibly succeed by arming, and not employing that armament, in persuading her to abandon all the rest! And what was the end? Why, that after pledging the King's name in the most deliberate and solemn manner; after lofty vapouring, menacing, promising, denying, turning, and turning again; after keeping up the parade of an armament for four months, accompanied with those severe measures (pressing seamen, etc.), to be regretted even when necessary, to be reprobated when not, the right honourable gentleman crouches humbly at her feet; entreats, submissively supplicates of her moderation, that she will grant him some small trifle of what he asks, if it is but by way of a boon; and finding at last that he can get nothing, either by threats or his prayers, gives up the whole precisely as she insisted upon having it!

The right honourable gentleman, however, is determined that this House shall take the whole of this disgrace upon itself. I heard him with much delight, on a former day, quote largely from that excellent and philosophical work, "The Wealth of Nations." In almost the first page of that book he will find it laid down as a principle that, by a division of labour in the different occupations of life, the objects to which it is applied are perfected, time is saved, dexterity improved, and the general stock of science augmented; that by joint effort and reciprocal accommodation the severest tasks are accomplished, and difficulties surmounted, too stubborn for the labour of a single hand. Thus, in the building of a great palace, we observe the work to be parcelled out into different departments, and distributed

\* This is an extract from a great speech made by Fox on March 1st, 1792, on the preparations which were made by Pitt for war with Russia in consequence of the refusal of the Empress Catherine to relinquish possession of the fortress of Oczakow, which she insisted on retaining as the sole fruits of the victorious campaign she had conducted, in conjunction with the Emperor of Austria, against the Turks. In the result Catherine carried her point. Peace was concluded on the basis of the permanent Russian occupation of Oczakow.



and subdivided into various degrees, some higher, some lower, to suit the capacities and condition of those who are employed in its construction. There is the architect that invents the plans, and erects the stately columns. There is the dustman and the nightman to clear away the rubbish. The right honourable gentleman applies these principles to his politics; and, in the division and cast of parts for the job we are now to execute for him, has reserved for himself the higher and more respectable share of the business, and leaves all the dirty work to us. Is he asked why the House of Commons made the armament last year? He answers, "The House of Commons did not make the armament! I made it. The House of Commons only approved of it." Is he asked why he gave up the object of the armament, after he had made it? "I did not give it up!" he exclaims. "I think the same of its necessity as ever. It is the House of Commons that gives it up! It is the House that supports the nation in their senseless clamour against my measures. It is to this House that you must look for the shame and guilt of your disgrace." To himself he takes the more conspicuous character of menacer. It is he that distributes provinces and limits empires; while he leaves to this House the humbler office of licking the dust, and begging forgiveness.

Not mine these groans—

These sighs that issue, or these tears that flow.

"I am forced into these submissions by a low, contracted, grovelling, mean-spirited, and ignorant people!" But this is not all. It rarely happens that in begging pardon (when men determine upon that course) they have not some benefit in view, or that the profit to be got is not meant to counter-balance, in some measure, the honour to be sacrificed. Let us see how the right honourable gentleman managed this. On the first indication of hostile measures against Russia, one hundred and thirty-five members of this House divided against the adoption of them. This it was, according to a right honourable gentleman who spoke in the debate yesterday [Mr. Dundas], that induced Ministers to abandon their first object; but not like the Duke of Leeds, who candidly avowed that if he could have once brought himself to give up the claim of Oczakow, he would not have stood out for the razing its fortifications, or any such terms. The ministers determine that the nation at least shall reap no benefit from the reversal of their system. "You have resisted our projects," say they; "you have discovered and exposed our incapacity; you have made us the ridicule of Europe, and such we shall appear to posterity; you have defeated, indeed, our intentions of involving you in war; but *you* shall not be the gainers by it! you shall not save your money! We abandon Oczakow, as you compel us to do; but we will keep up the armament, if it is only to spite you!" . . .

I am not one of those who lay down rules as universal and absolute, because I think there is hardly a political or moral maxim which is universally true; but I maintain the general rule to be, that before the public money be voted away, the occasion that calls for it should be fairly stated, for the consideration of those who are the proper guardians of the public money. Had the Minister explained his system to Parliament before he called for money to support it, and Parliament had decided that it was not worth supporting, he would have been saved the mortification and disgrace in which his own honour is involved, and, by being furnished with a just excuse to Prussia for withdrawing from the prosecution of it, have saved that of his Sovereign and his country, which he has irrevocably tarnished. Is unanimity necessary to his plans? He can be sure of it in no manner, unless

he explains them to this House, who are certainly much better judges than he is of the degree of unanimity with which they are likely to be received. Why, then, did he not consult us? Because he had other purposes to answer in the use he meant to make of his majority. Had he opened himself to the House at first, and had we declared against him, he might have been stopped in the first instance: had we declared for him, we might have held him too firmly to his principle to suffer his receding from it as he has done. Either of these alternatives he dreaded. It was his policy to decline our opinions, and to exact our confidence; that thus having the means of acting either way, according to the exigencies of his personal situation, he might come to Parliament and tell us what our opinions ought to be; which set of principles would be most expedient to shelter him from inquiry and from punishment. It is for this he comes before us with a poor and pitiful excuse, that for want of the unanimity he expected, there was reason to fear, if the war should go to a second campaign, that it might be obstructed. Why not speak out, and own the real fact? He feared that a second campaign might occasion the loss of his place. Let him keep but his place, he cares not what else he loses. With other men, reputation and glory are the objects of ambition; power and place are coveted but as the means of these. For the Minister, power and place are sufficient of themselves. With them he is content; for them he can calmly sacrifice every proud distinction that ambition covets, and every noble prospect to which it points the way!—*Speech in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1792.*

## ON A MONUMENT TO PITT

There are cases in which our public duty is so clear and imperious, that no desire of praise, no motive of personal respect, no wish to gratify our friends, nor any other consideration, however powerful, can possibly enable us to dispense with it. We must, then, act as our consciences direct, however painful it may be to our feelings. In my conscience, Sir, I believe this to be one of those cases: if the marks of respect were such as did not compromise my public duty in the compliance, no person would join in it more cheerfully, more eagerly than I would. If, for instance, it had been proposed to remedy those pecuniary difficulties which Mr. Pitt had incurred in the course of his political life, if it had been proposed to do those things for his relations in that way, which his own acknowledged disinterestedness did not allow him to do; if it had been proposed to supply the deficiencies of his own fortune, I would most willingly consent that all should be done in the most liberal manner.

But it is a very different thing to be called upon to confer honours upon Mr. Pitt as "an excellent statesman." Public honours are matters of the highest importance, because they must more or less influence posterity. They ought not, therefore, to be conferred lightly, but only where merit is clearly seen and acknowledged. When public honours are solicited, it becomes me to consult neither my interest nor my feeling, but to adhere rigidly and conscientiously to my public duty. It is not to particular acts that we have to look, but to the general effects of his administration. Certainly, when I look at Lord Chatham's monument, when I find the inscription bearing upon the face of it the grounds upon which it was voted: when I find it there stated that he had reduced the power of France to a very low ebb, and raised the prosperity of his country to a very high pitch, I must say that the case of Mr. Pitt can never be compared to that of Lord Chatham.

I must say that the country at present is reduced to the most dangerous and

alarming situation—a situation which might call for anything rather than honours to be conferred upon him who had the direction of measures which brought it to that state. It was said that in the case of Lord Chatham there was the most perfect unanimity, though there were many in the House who had opposed his political principles. This was true, but the merit was clear, and the inscription related to points on which there must have been the most perfect unanimity; and although undoubtedly during the Seven Years War there was a strong opposition, yet his merit on certain points, to which the inscription referred was allowed by the bitterest of his antagonists. But though no consideration ought to induce us to betray our trust in conferring the public honours, yet there are cases in which the effects of this might be less sensibly felt. For instance, in cases where we should be compelled to oppose particular acts of administration, we might still make a clear distinction between what was good and what was bad. In the present case I do not wish to enter upon particular acts. But I was always one of those who constantly said that the system to which Mr. Pitt lent his aid was an unfortunate and dangerous system, and the great cause of all the misfortunes and calamities that assailed us in the course of his administration. . . . It was a system little calculated to bring forward such men of eminence as himself, though he was so much attached to it. It was owing to him, indeed, I am persuaded, that the system maintained its ground so long. His great eloquence, his splendid talents, cast a veil over it, and concealed those things which otherwise would have been exposed in all their hideous deformity. No man can be more desirous than I am to bury in oblivion those contests in which we had so long been engaged: but I cannot consent to confer public honours on the ground of his being “an excellent statesman,” on the man who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system which I had early been taught to consider as a very bad one, an idea which the result has fully and fatally proved. Thinking thus, it cannot be expected that I should so far forget my public duty, and the principles which I have uniformly professed, as to subscribe to the condemnation of those principles by agreeing to the motion now before the House.—*From the Speech in the House of Commons in 1806, on the motion for erecting a Monument to the memory of that “great and excellent Statesman” Mr. Pitt.*

### LORD THURLOW, 1732–1806

**Lord Chancellor.** The son of a Suffolk clergyman. Educated at Canterbury and Caius College, Cambridge. Adopting a legal career, he entered at the Inner Temple in 1754. In 1768 he was elected as member of Parliament for Tamworth, and distinguished himself as a supporter of Lord North's American policy. He was appointed Solicitor-General in 1770, Attorney-General in 1771, and Lord Chancellor in 1778. He held the seals, with the exception of a brief period in 1783 during the existence of the Coalition Ministry, until 1792, when Pitt's hostility compelled him to resign. He died at Brighton.

#### THE ILLNESS OF GEORGE III.\*

My opinion, my Lords, is that all which belongs to the household must, at the same time with the care of the King's person, be put under her Majesty's control and management. To preserve the King's dignity, all his royal attendants must

\* The King's illness in 1788 had necessitated the appointment of a Regency, and there was much controversy as to the powers which should be entrusted to the Queen. When the Regency Bill was introduced, Thurlow in this speech strongly supported all the restrictions upon the power of the Prince of Wales as Regent. The clause vesting in the Queen the nomination of the officers of the household met with his special favour, as will be gathered from the extract

be kept about him. If you deprive the King of his accustomed splendour, you may as well treat him as a parish pauper—put him on board wages, or send him to one of those receptacles that take in unfortunate people at a small charge. This would be the only way to prevent the royal household going to the Queen—but then you are losing your time in contriving means of restoring his Majesty to the throne on his recovery, for you never can expect a cure. Remember, my Lords, that the Queen is to have the care of her royal patient, not as a wretched outcast, an obscure individual, without friends, without a name, without reputation, without honour—but as a King, to whom his people look up with loyalty, with affection, and with anxious wishes that he may be soon enabled to reascend his throne, and again spread blessings over the land he governs. As far as my voice can go, I shall lift it up loudly and sincerely. I claim for the King all the dignity that ought to attend a royal person, who is entitled to every comfort that can be administered to him in the hour of his calamity. And who shall dare to refuse my demand? It would, it ought, and it must mortify the Queen if the King were turned over to her in an unfeeling and irreverent fashion—destitute of every mark and remnant of royal state. Is there a man who hears me, who possesses the sensibility common to every human breast, who does not sympathise with her Majesty? I protest to God I do not believe there is a noble lord in the House who wishes to reduce to such a forlorn condition a King labouring under a misfortune, equal to any misfortune that ever happened since misfortune was known in the world. To hesitate about giving the household to the Queen, would show a total extinction of pity for that royal sufferer, whose calamity entitles him to the most unlimited compassion, and even to increased respect :

Deserted in his utmost need,  
By those his former bounty fed.\*

—*From a Speech in the House of Lords in 1789.*

“THE ACCIDENT OF AN ACCIDENT”†

I am amazed at the attack the noble duke has made on me. Yes, my Lords, I am amazed at his grace's speech. The noble duke cannot look before him, behind him, and on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer who owes his seat in this House to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these as to being *the accident of an accident*? To all these noble lords the language of the noble duke is as applicable and as insulting as it is to myself. But I don't fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do; but I must say, my Lords, that the peerage solicited me, not I the peerage. Nay more: I can say, and will say, that as a peer of Parliament, as Speaker of this right

\* When Thurlow had completed this quotation he burst into a flood of tears, and resumed his seat on the woolsack. Burke some days later, in his place in the House of Commons, satirically referred to the outburst. “The Lords,” he said, “had perhaps not yet recovered from that extraordinary outburst of the pathetic which had been exhibited before them the other evening; they had not yet dried their eyes, or been restored to their prime placidity, and were unqualified to attend to new business. The tears shed in that House on the occasion to which he alluded were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of Lords for their expiring places.”

† This, perhaps the most effective retort ever made by an orator, was delivered in reply to a sneering speech by the Duke of Grafton, taunting Thurlow with his plebeian origin. The reply was the more crushing from the fact that the Duke of Grafton was a descendant of Nell Gwynne.

honourable House, as Keeper of the Great Seal, as guardian of his Majesty's conscience, as Lord High Chancellor of England, nay, even in that character alone, in which the noble duke would think it an affront to be considered—as *A Man*—I am at this moment as respectable—I beg leave to add I am at this time as much respected—as the proudest peer I now look down upon.

### RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, 1751-1816

Orator, politician, and dramatist. The son of gifted Irish parents, Sheridan was born in Dublin, and received his early education there. Later he proceeded to Harrow, where he gave little promise of the brilliant career that was before him. On completing his education he entered at the Middle Temple, but was never called to the Bar. Meanwhile he had caused some sensation by eloping with Miss Linley, a beautiful and gifted singer, who was one of the belles of the Bath assemblies. The marriage with this lady greatly embarrassed Sheridan for a time, but the success of his plays which were produced from 1775 to 1780 brought him wealth and fame. Entering Parliament in 1780 as member for Stafford, Sheridan instantly made his mark as a coadjutor of Fox. The formation of the Coalition Ministry in 1783 was followed by Sheridan's appointment as Secretary for the Treasury. Subsequently he was closely identified with Burke and Fox in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. His great speech of Feb. 17th, 1787, on the Begums is reputed to be the most eloquent oration ever delivered in Parliament. When Pitt died, and Lord Grenville formed his Ministry of "All the Talents," Sheridan was chosen as Treasurer of the Navy. His later years, however, were undistinguished save for one splendid speech in 1812 on the question of peace with France. He died in neglect and poverty, but was accorded the honour of a funeral in Westminster Abbey.

#### IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS\*

IN looking round for an object fit to be held out to an oppressed people, and to the world as an example of national justice, we are forced to fix our eyes on Mr. Hastings. It is he, my Lords, who has degraded our fame, and blasted our fortunes in the East. It is he who has tyrannised with relentless severity over the devoted natives of those regions. It is he who must atone, as a victim, for the multiplied calamities he has produced!

But though, my Lords, I designate the prisoner as a proper subject of exemplary punishment, let it not be presumed that I wish to turn the sword of justice against him merely because some example is required. Such a wish is as remote from my heart as it is from equity and law. Were I not persuaded that it is impossible I should fail to render the evidence of his crimes as conclusive as the effects of his conduct are confessedly afflicting, I should blush at having selected him as an object of retributive justice. If I invoke this heavy penalty on Mr. Hastings, it is because I honestly believe him to be a flagitious delinquent, and by far the most so of all those who have contributed to ruin the natives of India and disgrace the inhabitants of Britain. But while I call for justice upon the prisoner, I sincerely desire to render him justice. It would indeed distress me could I imagine that the weight and consequence of the House of Commons, who are a party in this prosecution, could operate in the slightest degree to his prejudice: but I entertain no such solicitude or apprehension. It is the glory of the Constitution under which we live, that no man can be punished without guilt, and this guilt must be publicly demonstrated by a series of clear, legal, manifest evidence, so that nothing dark,

\* This and the subsequent extracts are from the speech made by Sheridan in June, 1788, in Westminster Hall in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. It traversed the same ground as the famous "Begum Speech" delivered in the House of Commons on Feb. 7th in the previous year, and made a sensation scarcely less remarkable than that created by the earlier utterance, of which it should be stated no adequate report exists. It was said of the speech by a contemporary that "the most ardent admirers of Burke, of Fox, and of Pitt allowed that they had been outdone as orators by Sheridan."

nothing oblique, nothing authoritative, nothing insidious, shall work to the detriment of the subject. It is not the peering suspicion of apprehended guilt. It is not any popular abhorrence of its widespread consequences. It is not the secret consciousness in the bosom of the judge which can excite the vengeance of the law, and authorise its infliction ! No ! In this good land, as high as it is happy, because as just as it is free, all is definite, equitable, and exact. The laws must be satisfied before they are incurred ; and ere a hair of the head can be plucked to the ground, *legal guilt* must be established by *legal proof* .

But this cautious, circumspect, and guarded principle of English jurisprudence, which we all so much value and revere, I feel at present in some degree inconvenient, as it may prove an impediment to public justice ; for the managers of this impeachment labour under difficulties with regard to evidence that can scarcely occur in any other prosecution. What ! my Lords, it may perhaps be asked, have none of the considerable persons who are sufferers by his crimes arrived to offer at your Lordships' bar their testimony, mixed with their execrations, against the prisoner ? No—there are none. These sufferers are persons whose manners and prejudices keep them separate from all the world, and whose religion will not admit them to appear before your Lordships. But are there no witnesses, unprejudiced spectators of these enormities, ready to come forward, from the simple love of justice, and to give a faithful narrative of the transactions that passed under their eyes ? No—there are none. The witnesses whom we have been compelled to summon are, for the most part, the emissaries and agents employed, and involved in these transactions ; the wily accomplices of the prisoner's guilt, and the supple instruments of his oppressions. But are there collected no written documents or authentic papers, containing a true and perfect account of his crimes ? No—there are none. The only papers we have procured are written by the party himself, or the participants in his proceedings, who studied, as it was their interest, though contrary to their duty, to conceal the criminality of their conduct, and, consequently, to disguise the truth.

But though, my Lords, I dwell on the difficulties which the managers have to encounter with respect to the evidence in this impeachment, I do not solicit indulgence, or even mean to hint, that what we have adduced is in any material degree defective. Weak no doubt it is in some parts, and deplorable, as undistinguished by any compunctious visitings of repenting accomplices. But there is enough, and enough in sure validity, notwithstanding every disadvantage and impediment, to abash the front of guilt no longer hid, and to flash those convictions on the minds of your Lordships which should be produced.

#### THE SANCTITY OF THE ZENANA

We have nothing in Europe, my Lords, which can give us an idea of the manners of the East. Your Lordships cannot even learn the right nature of the people's feelings and prejudices from any history of other Mohammedan countries—not even from that of the Turks, for *they* are a mean and degraded race in comparison with many of these great families, who, inheriting from their Persian ancestors, preserve a purer style of prejudice and a loftier superstition. Women there are not as in Turkey—they neither go to the mosque nor to the bath. It is not the thin veil alone that hides them, but, in the inmost recesses of their zenana, they are kept from public view by those revered and protected walls, which, as Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey admit, are held sacred even by the ruffian hand of warfare, or the more uncourteous hand of the law. But, in this

situation, they are not confined from a mean and selfish policy of man, or from a coarse or sensual jealousy. Enshrined, rather than immured, their habitation and retreat is a sanctuary, not a prison—their jealousy is their own—a jealousy of their own honour, that leads them to regard liberty as a degradation, and the gaze of even admiring eyes as inexpiable pollution to the purity of their fame and the sanctity of their honour..

Such being the general opinion (or prejudices, let them be called) of this country, your Lordships will find that whatever treasures were given or lodged in a zenana of this description must, upon the evidence of the thing itself, be placed beyond the reach of resumption. To dispute with the counsel about the original right to those treasures—to talk of a title to them by the Mohammedan law! Their title to them is the title of a saint to the relics upon an altar, placed there by piety, guarded by holy superstition, and to be snatched from thence only by sacrilege.

What, now, my Lords, do you think of the tyranny and savage apathy of a man who could act in open defiance of those prejudices which are so interwoven with the very existence of the females of the East, that they can be removed only by death? What do your Lordships think of the atrocity of a man who could threaten to profane and violate the sanctuary of the Princesses of Oude, by declaring that he would storm it with his troops, and expel the inhabitants from it by force? There is, my Lords, displayed in the whole of this black transaction a wantonness of cruelty and ruffian-like ferocity that, happily, are not often incident even to the most depraved and obdurate of our species.

Had there been in the composition of the prisoner's heart one generous propensity, or lenient disposition even slumbering and torpid, it must have been awakened and animated into kindness and mercy towards these singularly interesting females. Their character, and situation at the time, presented every circumstance to disarm hostility, and to kindle the glow of manly sympathy; but no tender impression could be made on his soul, which is as hard as adamant, and as black as sin. Stable as the everlasting hills in its schemes and purposes of villainy, it has never once been shaken by the cries of affliction, the claims of charity, or the complaints of injustice. With steady and undeviating step he marches on to the consummation of the abominable projects of wickedness which are engendered and contrived in its gloomy recesses. What his soul prepares, his hands are ever ready to execute.

It is true, my Lords, that the prisoner is conspicuously gifted with the energy of vice, and the firmness of indurated sensibility. These are the qualities which he assiduously cultivates, and of which his friends vauntingly exult. They have, indeed, procured him his triumphs and his glories. Truly, my Lords, they have spread his fame, and erected the sombre pyramids of his renown.

#### STATE NECESSITY

Driven from every other hold, the prisoner is obliged to resort, as a justification of his enormities, to the stale pretext of State Necessity! Of this last disguise it is my duty to strip him. I will venture to say, my Lords, that no one instance of real necessity can be adduced. The necessity which the prisoner alleges listens to whispers for the purpose of crimination, and deals in rumour to prove its own existence. *His* a State Necessity! No, my Lords, that imperial tyrant, *State Necessity*, is yet a generous despot—bold in his demeanour, rapid in his decisions, though terrible in his grasp. What he does, my Lords, he dares avow; and avowing, scorns any other justification than the high motives that placed the

iron sceptre in his hand. Even where its rigours are suffered, its apology is also known; and men learn to consider it in its true light, as a power which turns occasionally aside from just government, when its exercise is calculated to prevent greater evils than it occasions. But a quibbling, prevaricating necessity, which tries to steal a pitiful justification from whispered accusations and fabricated rumours—no, my Lords, that is *no* State Necessity! Tear off the mask, and you see coarse, vulgar avarice lurking under the disguise. The State Necessity of Mr. Hastings is a juggl<sup>e</sup>. It is a being that prowls in the dark. It is to be traced in the ravages which it commits, but never in benefits conferred or evils prevented. I can conceive justifiable occasions for the exercise even of outrage, where high public interests demand the sacrifice of private right. If any great man, in bearing the arms of his country—if any admiral, carrying the vengeance and the glory of Britain to distant coasts, should be driven to some rash acts of violence, in order, perhaps, to give food to those who are shedding their blood for their country—there is a State Necessity in such a case, grand, magnanimous, and all-commanding, which goes hand in hand with honour, if not with use! If any great general, defending some fortress, barren, perhaps, itself, but a pledge of the pride and power of Britain—if such a man, fixed like an imperial eagle on the summit of his rock, should strip its sides of the verdure and foliage with which it might be clothed, while covered on the top with that cloud from which he was pouring down his thunders on the foe—would he be brought by the House of Commons to your bar? No, my Lords, never would his grateful and admiring countrymen think of questioning actions which, though accompanied by private wrong, yet were warranted by real necessity. But is the State Necessity which is pleaded by the prisoner, in defence of his conduct, of this description? I challenge him to produce a single instance in which any of his private acts were productive of public advantage, or averted impending evil.

#### THE DESOLATION OF OUDE

If, my Lords, a stranger had at this time entered the province of Oude, ignorant of what had happened since the death of Sujah Dowlah—that prince who with a savage heart had still great lines of character, and who, with all his ferocity in war, had, with a cultivating hand, preserved to his country the wealth which it derived from benignant skies and a prolific soil—if, observing the wide and general devastation of fields unclothed and brown; of vegetation burned up and extinguished; of villages depopulated and in ruin; of temples unroofed and perishing; of reservoirs broken down and dry, this stranger should ask, “What has thus laid waste this beautiful and opulent land; what monstrous madness has ravaged with widespread war; what desolating foreign foe; what civil discords; what disputed succession; what religious zeal; what fabled monster has stalked abroad, and, with malice and mortal enmity to man, withered by the grasp of death every growth of nature and humanity, all means of delight, and each original, simple principle of bare existence?” the answer would have been, “Not one of these causes! No wars have ravaged these lands and depopulated these villages! No desolating foreign foe! No domestic broils! No disputed succession! No religious, superserviceable zeal! No poisonous monster! No affliction of Providence, which, while it scourged us, cut off the sources of resuscitation! No! This damp of death is the mere effusion of British amity! We sink under the pressure of their support! We writhe under their perfidious gripe! They



have embraced us with their protecting arms, and lo ! these are the fruits of their alliance ? ”

What, then, my Lords ! shall we bear to be told that, under such circumstances, the exasperated feelings of a whole people, thus spurred on to clamour and resistance, were excited by the poor and feeble influence of the begums ? After hearing the description given by an eye-witness of the paroxysm of fever and delirium into which despair threw the natives when on the banks of the polluted Ganges, panting for breath, they tore more widely open the lips of their gaping wounds, to accelerate their dissolution ; and while their blood was issuing, presented their ghastly eyes to heaven, breathing their last and fervent prayer that the dry earth might not be suffered to drink their blood, but that it might rise up to the throne of God, and rouse the eternal Providence to avenge the wrongs of their country—will it be said that all this was brought about by the incantations of these begums in their secluded zenana ; or that they could inspire this enthusiasm and this despair into the breasts of a people who felt no grievance, and had suffered no torture ? What motive, then, could have such influence in their bosom ? What motive ! That which Nature, the common parent, plants in the bosom of man ; and which, though it may be less active in the Indian than in the Englishman, is still congenial with, and makes a part of his being. The feeling which tells him that man was never made to be the property of man ; but that, when in the pride and insolence of power, one human creature dares to tyrannise over another, it is a power usurped, and resistance is a duty. That principle which tells him that resistance to power usurped is not merely a duty which he owes to himself and to his neighbour, but a duty which he owes to his God, in asserting and maintaining the rank which He gave him in his creation. That principle which neither the rudeness of ignorance can stifle, nor the enervation of refinement extinguish ! That principle which makes it base for a man to suffer when he ought to act ; which, tending to preserve to the species the original designations of Providence, spurns at the arrogant distinctions of man, and indicates the independent quality of his race.

#### A CRIME WITHOUT PARALLEL

There is nothing, my Lords, to be found in the history of human turpitude ; nothing in the nervous delineations and penetrating brevity of Tacitus ; nothing in the luminous and luxuriant pages of Gibbon,\* or of any other historian, dead or living, who, searching into measures and characters with the rigour of truth, presents to our abhorrence depravity in its blackest shapes, which can equal, in the grossness of the guilt, or in the hardness of heart with which it was conducted, or in low and grovelling motives, the acts and character of the prisoner. It was he who, in the base desire of stripping two helpless women, could stir the son to rise up in vengeance against them ; who, when that son had certain touches of nature in his breast, certain feelings of an awakened conscience, could accuse him of entertaining peevish objections to the plunder and sacrifice of his mother ; who, having finally divested him of all thought, all reflection, all memory, all conscience, all tenderness and duty as a son, all dignity as a monarch ; having destroyed

\* This reference to Gibbon was made in the presence of the historian, who was one of the audience. In his Diary, Gibbon says that he could not hear, “ without emotion, the compliment paid me in the presence of the British nation.” Sheridan was afterwards good-humouredly criticised by a friend for going out of his way to compliment so staunch a Tory as Gibbon, and instantly replied, “ I said voluminous.”

his character and depopulated his country, at length brought him to violate the dearest ties of nature, in countenancing the destruction of his parents. This crime, I say, has no parallel or prototype in the Old World or the New, from the day of original sin to the present hour. The victims of his oppression were confessedly destitute of all power to resist their oppressors. But their debility, which from other bosoms would have claimed some compassion, at least with respect to the mode of suffering, with him only excited the ingenuity of torture. Even when every feeling of the nabob was subdued ; when, as we have seen, my Lords, Nature made a last, lingering, feeble stand within his breast ; even then, that cold spirit of malignity, with which his doom was fixed, returned with double rigour and sharper acrimony to its purpose, and compelled the child to inflict on the parent that destruction of which he was himself reserved to be the final victim.

#### FILIAL PIETY

The counsel, my Lords, in recommending an attention to the public in reference to the private letters, remarked particularly that one of the latter should not be taken in evidence, because it was evidently and abstractedly private, relating the anxieties of Mr. Middleton on account of the illness of his son. This is a singular argument indeed. The circumstance, however, undoubtedly merits strict observation, though not in the view in which it was placed by the counsel. It goes to show, that some, at least, of the persons concerned in these transactions felt the force of those ties which their efforts were directed to tear asunder ; that those who could ridicule the respective attachment of a mother and a son ; who could prohibit the reverence of the son to the mother ; who could deny to maternal debility the protection which filial tenderness should afford, were yet sensible of the straining of those chords by which they are connected. There is something in the present business, with all that is horrible to create aversion, so vilely loathsome, as to excite disgust. It is, my Lords, surely superfluous to dwell on the sacredness of the ties which those aliens to feeling, those apostates to humanity, thus divided. In such an assembly as the one before which I speak, there is not an eye but must look reproof to this conduct, not a heart but must anticipate its condemnation. *Filial piety!* It is the primal bond of society. It is that instinctive principle which, panting for its proper good, soothes, unbidden, each sense and sensibility of man. It now quivers on every lip. It now beams from every eye. It is that gratitude which, softening under the sense of recollected good, is eager to own the vast, countless debt it never, alas ! can pay, for so many long years of unceasing solitudes, honourable self-denials, life-preserving cares. It is that part of our practice where duty drops its awe, where reverence refines into love. It asks no aid of memory. It needs not the deductions of reason. Pre-existing, paramount over all, whether moral law or human rule, few arguments can increase, and none can diminish it. It is the sacrament of our nature ; not only the duty, but the indulgence of man. It is the first great privilege. It is among his last most endearing delights. It causes the bosom to glow with reverberated love. It requites the visitations of nature, and returns the blessings that have been received. It fires emotion into vital principle. It changes what was instinct, into a master passion ; sways all the sweetest energies of man ; hangs over each vicissitude of all that must pass away ; and aids the melancholy virtues in their last sad tasks of life, to cheer the languors of decrepitude and age, and

Explore the thought, explain the aching eye

## AN APPEAL TO JUSTICE

These observations, my Lords, are not meant to cast any obloquy on the Council ; they undoubtedly were deceived ; and the deceit practised on them is a decided proof of his consciousness of guilt. When tired of corporeal infliction, Mr. Hastings was gratified by insulting the understanding. The coolness and reflection with which this act was managed and concerted raises its enormity and blackens its turpitude. It proves the prisoner to be that monster in nature, a *deliberate and reasoning tyrant* ! Other tyrants of whom we read, such as a Nero, or a Caligula, were urged to their crimes by the impetuosity of passion. High rank disqualified them from advice, and perhaps equally prevented reflection. But in the prisoner we have a man born in a state of mediocrity ; bred to mercantile life ; used to system ; and accustomed to regularity ; who was accountable to his masters, and therefore was compelled to think and to deliberate on every part of his conduct. It is this cool deliberation, I say, which renders his crimes more horrible, and his character more atrocious.

When, my Lords, the Board of Directors received the advices which Mr. Hastings thought proper to transmit, though unfurnished with any other materials to form their judgment, they expressed very strongly their doubts, and properly ordered an inquiry into the circumstances of the alleged disaffection of the begums, declaring it at the same time, to be a debt which was due to the honour and justice of the British nation. This inquiry, however, Mr. Hastings thought it absolutely necessary to elude. He stated to the Council, in answer, "that it would revive those animosities that subsisted between the begums and the nabob [Asoph Dowlah], which had then subsided. If the former were inclined to appeal to a foreign jurisdiction, they were the best judges of their own feeling, and should be left to make their own complaint." All this, however, my Lords, is nothing to the magnificent paragraph which concludes this communication. "Besides," says he, "I hope it will not be a departure from official language to say, that the *majesty of justice* ought not to be approached without solicitation. She ought not to descend to inflame or provoke, but to withhold her judgment until she is called on to determine." What is still more astonishing is, that Sir John Macpherson, who, though a man of sense and honour, is rather Oriental in his imagination, and not learned in the sublime and beautiful from the immortal leader of this prosecution, was caught by this bold, bombastic quibble, and joined in the same words, "That the *majesty of justice* ought not to be approached without solicitation." But, my Lords, do you, the judges of this land, and the expounders of its rightful laws—do you approve of this mockery and call it the character of justice, which takes the *form of right* to excite wrong ? No, my Lords, justice is not this halt and miserable object ; it is not the ineffective bauble of an Indian pagod ; it is not the portentous phantom of despair ; it is not like any fabled monster, formed in the eclipse of reason, and found in some unhallowed grove of superstitious darkness and political dismay. No, my Lords. In the happy reverse of all this, I turn from the disgusting caricature to the real image ! *Justice* I have now before me august and pure ! The abstract idea of all that would be perfect in the spirits and the aspirations of men !—where the mind rises ; where the heart expands ; where the countenance is ever placid and benign ; where her favourite attitude is to stoop to the unfortunate ; to hear their cry and to help them ; to rescue and relieve, to succour and save ; majestic, from its mercy ; venerable, from its utility ; uplifted, without pride ; firm without obduracy ; beneficent in each preference ; lovely, though in her frown !

*On that justice I rely* : deliberate and sure, abstracted from all party purpose and political speculation ; not on words, but on facts. You, my Lords, who hear me, I conjure, by those rights which it is your best privilege to preserve ; by that fame which it is your best pleasure to inherit ; by all those feelings which refer to the first term in the series of existence, the original compact of our nature, our controlling rank in the Creation. This is the call on all to administer to truth and equity, as they would satisfy the laws and satisfy themselves, with the most exalted bliss possible or conceivable for our nature ; the self-approving consciousness of virtue, when the condemnation we look for will be one of the most ample mercies accomplished for mankind since the creation of the world ! My Lords, I have done.

#### MARITIME POWER

No consideration for our ally, no hope of advantage to be derived from joint negotiation should have induced the English Government to think for a moment of interrupting the course of our naval triumphs. This measure, Sir, would have broken the heart of the Navy, and would have damped all its future exertions. How would our gallant sailors have felt, when, chained to their decks like galley slaves, they saw the enemy's vessels sailing under their bows in security, and proceeding without a possibility of being molested, to revictual those places which had been so long blockaded by their astonishing skill, perseverance, and valour ? We never stood more in need of their services, and their feelings at no time deserved to be more studiously consulted. The north of Europe presents to England a most awful and threatening aspect. Without giving an opinion as to the origin of these hostile dispositions, or pronouncing decidedly whether they are wholly ill-founded, I hesitate not to say, that if they have been exerted because we have insisted upon enforcing the old-established maritime law of Europe—because we stood boldly forth in defence of indisputable privileges—because we have refused to abandon the source of our prosperity, the pledge of our security, and the foundation of our naval greatness—they ought to be disregarded or set at defiance. If we are threatened to be deprived of that which is the charter of our existence, which has procured us the commerce of the world, and been the means of spreading our glory over every land, if the rights and honours of our flag are to be called in question, every risk should be run, and every danger braved. Then we should have a legitimate cause of war ; then the heart of every Briton would burn with indignation, and his hand be stretched forth in defence of his country. If our flag is to be insulted, let us nail it to the topmast of the nation ; there let it fly, while we shed the last drop of our blood in protecting it.—*From the Speech in the House of Commons in 1800, on the negotiations with France for peace preceded by a maritime truce.*

#### AN APPRECIATION OF FOX

Upon the one great subject, which at this moment I am confident has possession of the whole feelings of every man whom I address—the loss, the irreparable loss of the great, the illustrious character whom we all deplore—I shall, I can say but little. A long interval must take place before the heavy blow which has been struck, and the consideration of its effect, before any one (and how many are there ?) of those who have revered and loved Mr. Fox as I have done, can speak of his death with the feeling, but manly composure, which becomes the dignified regret

it ought to inspire. To say anything to you at this moment, in the fresh hour of your unburthened sorrows—to depict, to dwell upon the great traits of his character—must be unnecessary and almost insulting. His image still lives before your eyes—his virtues are in your hearts—his loss is your despair. I have seen in a public print what are stated to have been his last words—and they are truly stated. They were these—“I die happy.” Then (turning to the more immediate objects of his private affections), he added, “But I pity you.” Gentlemen, this statement is precisely true. But oh! if the solemn fleeting hour had allowed of such considerations, and if the unassuming nature of his dignified mind had not withheld him, which of you but will allow his title to have said (not only to the slaves of his domestic love, hanging in mute despair upon his couch), “I pity you”; but prophetically to have added, “I pity England—I pity Europe—I pity human nature”? He died in the spirit of peace; tranquil in his own expiring heart, and cherishing to the last (with a parental solicitude) the consoling hope that he should be able to give established tranquillity to harassed contending nations. Let us trust that that stroke of death which has borne him from us may not have left the peace of the world, and the civilised charities of man, as orphans upon earth. With such a man, to have battled in the cause of genuine liberty—with such a man, to have struggled against the inroads of oppression and corruption—with such an example before me to have to boast that I never in my life gave one vote in Parliament that was not on the side of freedom, is the congratulation that attends the retrospect of my public life. His friendship was the pride and honour of my days. I never for one moment regretted to share with him the difficulties, the calumnies, and sometimes even the dangers that attended his honourable life. And now, reviewing my past political conduct (were the option possible that I should retread the path), I solemnly and deliberately declare that I would pursue the same course—bear up under the same pressure—abide by the same principles—and remain by his side an exile from power, distinction, and emolument! If I have missed the opportunity of obtaining all the support I might, perhaps, have had on the present occasion (from a scrupulous delicacy which I think *became* and was *incumbent* upon me), I cannot repent it! In so doing, I acted on the feelings upon which I am sensible all those would have acted who loved Mr. Fox as I did. I felt within myself that, while the slightest aspirations might quiver on those lips, that were the copious channels of eloquence, wisdom, and benevolence—that while one drop of life’s blood might still warm that heart, which throbbed only for the good of mankind—I should not, I could not, have acted otherwise.

There is in true friendship this advantage, that the inferior mind looks to the presiding intellect as its guide and landmark while living, and to the engraven memory of his principles as a rule of conduct after his death! Yet further still (unmixed with any idle superstition,) there may be gained a salutary lesson from contemplating what would be grateful to the mind of the departed, were he conscious of what is passing here. I do solemnly believe that could such a consideration have entered into Mr. Fox’s last moments, there is nothing his wasted spirits would so have deprecated as a contest of the nature which I now deprecate and relinquish!

Gentlemen! The hour is not far distant when an awful knell shall tell you that the unburied remains of your revered patriot are passing through your streets to that sepulchral home where your kings, your heroes, your sages, and your poets will be honoured with an association with his mortal remains. At that hour when the sad solemnity shall take place (in a private way, as more suited to the simple dignity of his character, than the splendid gaudiness of public pageantry),

when *you* (all of you) shall be self-marshalled in reverential sorrow—mute and reflecting on your mighty loss—at that moment shall the disgusting contest of an election wrangle break the solemnity of such a scene? Is it fitting that any man should overlook the crisis, and risk the monstrous and disgusting contest? Is it fitting that I should be that man?—*Portion of a Speech delivered in 1806, prior to the interment of Fox, on Sheridan's retiring from the contest for Westminster.*

### JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN, 1750-1817

A native of Cork, Curran was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and subsequently went to London, and studied law in the Temple. Returning to Ireland, he in 1784 became a member of the Irish House of Commons. He was a strenuous opponent of the Union with England. On the accession of the Whigs to office in 1806 he was made Master of the Rolls in Ireland, a position he held until 1814, when he retired on a pension of £3000 a year. He was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.

#### IRISH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

GENTLEMEN, the representation of your people is the vital principle of their political existence. Without it they are dead, or they live only in servitude. Without it there are two estates acting upon and against the third, instead of acting in co-operation with it. Without it, if the people are oppressed by their judges, where is the tribunal to which their judges can be amenable? Without it, if they are trampled upon and plundered by a Minister where is the tribunal to which the offender shall be amenable? Without it, where is the ear to hear, or the heart to feel, or the hand to redress their sufferings? Shall they be found, let me ask you, in the accursed bands of imps and minions that bask in their disgrace, and fatten upon their spoils, and flourish upon their ruin? But let me not put this to you as a merely speculative question. It is a plain question of fact; rely upon it, physical man is everywhere the same; it is only the various operations of moral causes that gives variety to the social or individual character and condition. How otherwise happens it that modern slavery looks quietly at the despot, on the very spot where Leonidas expired? The answer is easy; Sparta has not changed her climate, but she has lost that government which her liberty could not survive.

I call you, therefore, to the plain question of fact. This paper recommends a reform in Parliament: I put that question to your conscience; do you think it needs that reform? I put it boldly and fairly to you; do you think the people of Ireland are represented as they ought to be? Do you hesitate for an answer? If you do, let me remind you that, until the last year, three millions of your countrymen have, by the express letter of the law, been excluded from the reality of actual, and even from the phantom of virtual representation. Shall we, then, be told that this is only the affirmation of a wicked and seditious incendiary? If you do not feel the mockery of such a charge, look at your country; in what state do you find it? Is it in a state of tranquillity and general satisfaction? These are traces by which good are ever to be distinguished from bad Governments, without any very minute inquiry or speculative refinement. Do you feel that a veneration for the law, a pious and humble attachment to the Constitution, form the political morality of the people? Do you find that comfort and competency among your people which are always to be found where a Government is mild and moderate, where taxes are imposed by a body who have an interest in treating the poor orders with compassion, and preventing the weight of taxation from pressing sore upon them?

This paper, gentlemen, insists upon the necessity of emancipating the Catholics of Ireland, and that is charged as a part of the libel. If they had kept this prosecution impending for another year, how much would remain for a jury to decide upon, I should be at a loss to discover. It seems as if the progress of public reformation was eating away the ground of the prosecution. Since the commencement of the prosecution this part of the libel has unluckily received the sanction of the Legislature. In that interval our Catholic brethren have obtained that admission which, it seems, it was a libel to propose.\* In what way to account for this I am really at a loss. Have any alarms been occasioned by the emancipation of our Catholic brethren? Has the bigoted malignity of any individuals been crushed? Or has the stability of the Government, or has that of the country, been weakened? Or are one million of subjects stronger than four millions? Do you think that the benefit they received should be poisoned by the sting of vengeance? If you think so you must say to them, "You have demanded emancipation, and you have got it; but we abhor your persons, we are outraged at your success; and we will stigmatise, by a criminal prosecution, the relief which you have obtained from the voice of your country." I ask you, gentlemen, do you think, as honest men anxious for the public tranquillity, conscious that there are wounds not yet completely cicatrised, that you ought to speak this language, at this time, to men who are too much disposed to think that in this very emancipation they have been saved from their own Parliament by the humanity of their Sovereign? Or do you wish to prepare them for the revocation of these improvident concessions? Do you think it wise or human at this moment to insult them, by sticking up in a pillory the man who dared to stand forth their advocate? I put it to your oaths, do you think that a blessing of that kind, that a victory obtained by justice over bigotry and oppression, should have a stigma cast upon it by an ignominious sentence upon men bold and honest enough to propose that measure? To propose the redeeming of religion from the abuses of the Church, the reclaiming of three millions of men from bondage, and giving liberty to all who had a right to demand it; giving, I say, in the so-much-censured words of this paper, giving "universal emancipation"! I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of "universal emancipation"! No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of "universal emancipation."—*From a Speech made on Jan. 29th, 1794, in defence of Michael Hamilton Rowan, who was indicted for seditious libel.*

\* The reference is to the fact that in 1793 a bill was carried conferring the suffrage upon the Roman Catholics.

## HENRY GRATTAN, 1750-1820

**Irish orator, statesman.** Born in Dublin, of which city his father was Recorder. After completing his education at Trinity College, Dublin, he studied law at the Middle Temple, London. Returning to Ireland, he in 1772 was called to the Irish Bar. Three years later he entered the Irish Parliament. Early in his career as a legislator he distinguished himself by his passionate defence of the title of Ireland to a separate Parliament. He vehemently opposed Pitt's measure for the Union with England, but on the passing of the scheme he agreed to accept a share in its working, and was sent in 1805 to represent his native city at Westminster. At St. Stephen's he repeated the oratorical triumphs which had marked his Parliamentary career in Ireland. When he died the united nation paid him the tribute of a funeral in Westminster Abbey.

## THE LIBERTIES OF IRELAND

I LAUGH at the man who supposes that Ireland will not be content with a free trade and a free Constitution ; and would any man advise her to be content with less ? . . . The King has no other title to his crown than you have to your liberty. Both are founded, the Throne and your freedom, upon the rights vested in the subject to resist by arms, notwithstanding their oaths of allegiance, any authority attempting to impose acts of power as laws ; whether that authority be one man or a host, the second James, or the British Parliament, every argument for the House of Hanover is equally an argument for the liberties of Ireland. The Act of Settlement is an Act of Rebellion, or the sixth of George I. an Act of usurpation. I do not refer to doubtful history, but to living record, to common charters, to the interpretation England has put on those charters (an interpretation made, not by words only, but crowned by arms), to the revolution she has formed upon them, to the King she has established, and, above all, to the oath of allegiance solemnly plighted to the House of Stuart, and afterwards set aside in the instance of a grave and moral people, absolved by virtue of those very charters : and as anything less than liberty is inadequate in Ireland, so is it dangerous to Great Britain. We are too near the British nation ; we are too conversant with her history ; we are too much fired by her example to be anything less than equals : anything less, we should be her bitterest enemies. An enemy to that power which smote us with her mace, and to that Constitution from whose blessings we are excluded, to be ground, as we have been, by the British nation, bound by her Parliament, plundered by her Crown, threatened by her enemies, and insulted with her protection, while we return thanks for her condescension, in a system of meanness and misery, which has expired in our determination and in her magnanimity.

That there are precedents against us I allow ; acts of power I would call them, not precedents ; and I answer the English pleading such precedents, as they answered their kings when they urged precedents against the liberty of England. Such things are the tyranny of one side, the weakness of the other, and the law of neither. We will not be bound by them ; or rather, in the words of the Declaration of Right, no doing, judgment, or proceeding to the contrary shall be brought into precedent or example. Do not, then, tolerate a power, the power of the British Government, over this land, which has no foundation in necessity, or utility, or empire, or the laws of England, or the laws of Ireland, or the laws of Nature, or the laws of God. Do not suffer that power which banished your manufactures, dishonoured your peerage, and stopped the growth of your people. Do



not, I say, be bribed by an export of woollens, or an import of sugar, and suffer that power which has thus withered the land to have existence in your pusillanimity. Do not send the people to their own resolves for liberty, passing by the tribunals of justice, and the High Court of Parliament ; neither imagine that, by any formation of apology, you can palliate such a commission to your hearts, still less to your children, who will sting you in your grave for interfering between them and their Maker, and robbing them of an immense occasion, and losing an opportunity which you did not create, and can never restore.

Hereafter, when these things shall be history, your age of thralldom, your sudden resurrection, commercial redress, and miraculous armament, shall the historian stop at *liberty*, and observe that here the principal men amongst us were found wanting, were awed by a weak Ministry, bribed by an empty Treasury ; and, when Liberty was within their grasp, and her temple opened its folding-doors, fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold.

I might, as a constituent, come to your bar and demand my liberty. I do call upon you by the laws of the land and their violation ; by the instructions of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment—tell us the rule by which we shall go ; assert the law of Ireland ; declare the liberty of the land ! I will not be answered by a public lie, in the shape of an amendment ; nor, speaking of the subjects' freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be to break your chain and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a chain clanking to his rags. He may be naked, he shall not be in irons. And I do see the time at hand ; the spirit is gone forth ; the Declaration of Right is planted ; and though great men should fall off, yet the cause shall live ; and though he who utters this should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the humble organ who conveys it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him.—*From a Speech delivered in the Irish House of Commons on April 19th, 1780, in support of a motion denying to England the right of making laws for Ireland.*

#### PROTEST AGAINST THE UNION WITH ENGLAND

At the emancipation of Ireland in 1782, I took a leading part in the foundation of that Constitution which is now endeavoured to be destroyed. Of that Constitution I was the author ; in that Constitution I glory ; and for it the honourable gentleman should bestow praise, not invent calunmy. Notwithstanding my weak state of body, I come to give my last testimony against this Union, so fatal to the liberties and interest of my country. I come to make common cause with these honourable and virtuous gentlemen around me, to try and save the Constitution ; or, if not save the Constitution, at least to save our characters, and remove from our graves the foul disgrace of standing apart while a deadly blow is aimed at the independence of our country. The right honourable gentleman says I fled from the country after inciting rebellion, and that I have returned to raise another. No such thing. The charge is false. The civil war had not commenced when I left the kingdom, and I could not have returned without taking a part. On the one side there was the camp of the rebel ; on the other the camp of the Minister, a greater traitor than that rebel. The stronghold of the Constitution was nowhere to be found. I agree that the rebel who rose against the Government should have

suffered ; but I missed on the scaffold the right honourable gentleman. Two desperate parties were in arms against the Constitution. The right honourable gentleman belonged to one of these parties, and deserved death. I could not join the rebel—I could not join the Government. I could not join torture—I could not join half-hanging—I could not join free quarter. I could take part with neither. I was therefore absent from a scene where I could not be active without self-reproach, not indifferent with safety.

Many honourable gentlemen thought differently from me. I respect their opinions, but I keep my own ; and I think now, as I thought then, *that the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Minister.*

I have returned, not, as the right honourable member has said, to raise another storm—I have returned to discharge an honourable debt of gratitude to my country that conferred a great reward for past services, which, I am proud to say, was not greater than my desert. I have returned to protect that Constitution, of which I was the parent and the founder, from the assassination of such men as the honourable gentleman and his unworthy associates. They are corrupt—they are seditious—and they, at this very moment, are in a conspiracy against their country. I have returned to refute a libel, as false as it is malicious, given to the public under the appellation of a report of a committee of the House of Lords. Here I stand ready for impeachment or trial ; I dare accusation ; I defy the honourable gentleman ; I defy the Government ; I defy the whole phalanx. Let them come forth. I tell the Ministers I will neither give them quarter nor take it. I am here to lay the shattered remains of my constitution on the floor of this House, in defence of the liberties of my country. . . .

My guilt or innocence has little to do with the question here. I rose with the rising fortunes of my country—I am willing to die with her expiring liberties. To the voice of the people I will bow, but never shall I submit to the calumnies of an individual hired to betray them and to slander me. The indisposition of my body has left me, perhaps, no means but that of lying down with falling Ireland, and recording upon her tomb my dying testimony against the flagitious corruption that has murdered her independence. The right honourable gentleman has said that this was not my place—that instead of having a voice in the councils of my country I should now stand a culprit at her bar—at the bar of a court of criminal judicature—to answer for my treasons. The Irish people have not so read my history, but let that pass ; if I am what he said I am, the people are not therefore to forfeit their Constitution. In point of argument, therefore, the attack is bad—in point of taste or feeling, if he had either, it is worse—in point of fact, it is false, utterly and absolutely false—as rancorous a falsehood as the most malignant motives could suggest to the prompt sympathy of a shameless and a venal defence. The right honourable gentleman has suggested examples which I should have shunned, and examples which I should have followed. I shall never follow his, and I have ever avoided it. I shall never be ambitious to purchase public scorn by private infamy—the lighter characters of the model have as little chance of weaning me from the habits of a life spent, if not exhausted, in the cause of my native land. Am I to renounce those habits now for ever, and at the beck of whom ? I should rather say, of what ?—half a Minister—half a monkey—a 'prentice politician, and a master coxcomb ! He has told you that what he had said of me here he would say anywhere. I believe he would say thus of me in any place where he thought himself safe in saying it. Nothing can limit his calumnies but his fear—in Parliament he has calumniated

me to-night, in the King's Courts he would calumniate me to-morrow ; but had he said or dared to insinuate one-half as much elsewhere, the indignant spirit of an honest man would have answered the vile and venal slanderer with—a blow.—  
*Speech delivered in the Irish House of Commons on Feb. 14th, 1800, during the debate on the Union with England.*

### THOMAS, LORD ERSKINE, 1750–1823

“The silver-tongued pleader.” A younger son of the Earl of Buchan, a poor Scotch peer, he was born at Edinburgh, and educated at St. Andrew's, and later entered the Navy as midshipman. After four years' service at sea he exchanged to the Army, in which he served for eight years. Acting on the advice of Lord Mansfield, whose acquaintance he had casually made while visiting a court of justice, he adopted the law as a profession. His career at the outset was a chequered one, but a brilliantly successful speech delivered in an action for libel arising out of the Sandwich affair made his reputation. Thenceforward briefs flowed in upon him until he reached a position of dazzling eminence at the Bar. He took part for the defence in most of the great political trials of his time, notably in the cases of Lord George Gordon and Tom Paine. In 1783 he entered Parliament as member for Portsmouth, but he was a comparative failure in the House of Commons. On the death of Pitt in 1806 he became Lord Chancellor in the Ministry of “All the Talents.” His later years were passed in comparative seclusion.

#### LORD SANDWICH'S CORRUPTION\*

I know that he (Lord Sandwich) is not formally before the Court, but for that very reason *I will bring him before the Court.* He has placed these men in the front of the battle in hopes to escape under their shelter, but I will not join in battle with them ; *their* voices, though screwed up to the highest pitch of human depravity, are not of dignity enough to vindicate the combat with *me.* I will drag *him* to light who is the dark mover behind this scene of iniquity. I assert that the Earl of Sandwich has but one road to escape out of this business without pollution and disgrace, and that is, by publicly disavowing the acts of the prosecutors, and restoring Captain Baillie to his command. If he does this, then his offence will be no more than the too common one of having suffered his own *personal* interest to prevail over his *public* duty in placing his voters in the Hospital. But if, on the contrary, he continues to protect the prosecutors, in spite of the evidence of their guilt, which has excited the abhorrence of the numerous audience who crowd this court, IF HE KEEPS THIS INJURED MAN SUSPENDED, OR DARES TO TURN THAT SUSPENSION INTO A REMOVAL, I SHALL THEN NOT SCRUPLE TO DECLARE HIM AN ACCOMPLICE IN THEIR GUILT, A SHAMELESS OPPRESSOR, A DISGRACE TO HIS RANK, AND A TRAITOR TO HIS TRUST. But as I should be very sorry that the fortune of my brave and honourable friend should depend either upon the exercise of Lord Sandwich's virtues or the influence of his fears, I do most earnestly entreat the Court to mark the malignant object of this prosecution, and to defeat it. I beseech you, my Lords, to consider that even by discharging the rule, and with costs, the defendant is neither protected nor restored.

I trust, therefore, your Lordships will not rest satisfied with fulfilling your JUDICIAL duty, but, as the strongest evidence of foul abuses has by accident come collaterally before you, that you will protect a brave and public-spirited officer

\* This is the concluding portion of Lord Erskine's famous maiden speech at the Bar in the case in which Captain Baillie was charged with libelling Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, by accusing him of corruption in connection with the construction of Greenwich Hospital. “The impression made upon the audience by this address,” says Campbell in his “Lives of the Lord Chancellors,” “was unprecedented ; and I must own that, all circumstances considered, it is the most wonderful forensic effort of which we have any account in our annals.”

from the persecution this writing has brought upon him, and not suffer so dreadful an example to go abroad into the world as the ruin of an upright man for having faithfully discharged his duty. My Lords, this matter is of the last importance. I speak not as an ADVOCATE alone—I speak to you AS A MAN—as a member of a State whose very existence depends upon her naval strength. If our fleets are to be crippled by the baneful influence of elections, WE ARE LOST INDEED. If the seaman, while he exposes his body to fatigues and dangers, looking forward to Greenwich as an asylum for infirmity and old age, sees the gates of it blocked up by corruption, and hears the riot and mirth of luxurious landmen drowning the groans and complaints of the wounded, helpless companions of his glory, he will tempt the seas no more. The Admiralty may press HIS BODY, indeed, at the expense of humanity and the Constitution, but they cannot press *his mind*—they cannot press the heroic ardour of a British sailor; and instead of a fleet to carry terror all round the globe, the Admiralty may not be able much longer to amuse us with even the peaceable, unsubstantial pageant of a review. “FINE AND IMPRISONMENT! The man deserves a PALACE instead of a PRISON who prevents the palace built by the public bounty of his country from being converted into a dungeon, and who sacrifices his own security to the interests of humanity and virtue.

And now, my Lords, I have done; but not without thanking your Lordships for the very indulgent attention I have received, though in so late a stage of this proceeding, and notwithstanding my great incapacity and inexperience. I resign my client into your hands, and I resign him with a well-founded confidence and hope; because that torrent of corruption which has unhappily overwhelmed every other part of the Constitution is, by the blessing of Providence, stopped HERE by the sacred independence of the Judges. I KNOW that your Lordships will determine ACCORDING TO LAW; and therefore, if an information should be suffered to be filed, I shall bow to the sentence, and shall consider this meritorious publication to be indeed an offence against the laws of this country; but then I shall not scruple to say that it is high time for every honest man to remove himself from a country in which he can no longer do his duty to the public with safety—where cruelty and inhumanity are suffered to impeach virtue, and where vice passes through a court of justice unpunished and unreprieved.

LORD GEORGE GORDON RIOTS\*

What, then, has produced this trial for high treason? What! but the inversion of all justice, by judging from consequences, instead of from causes and designs? What! but the artful manner in which the Crown has endeavoured to blend the petitioners in a body, and the zeal with which an animated disposition conducted it, with the melancholy crimes that followed—crimes which the shameful indolence of our magistrates, which the total extinction of all police and all government suffered to be committed, in broad day, in the delirium of drunkenness, by an unarmed banditti without a head, without plan or object, and without a refuge from the instant gripe of justice; a banditti, with whom the Associated Protestants and their President had no manner of connection, and whose cause they overturned, dishonoured, and ruined? How unchristian, then, is it to attempt, without

\* Lord George Gordon, as one of the famous riots in 1783, so vividly described by Dickens in “Barnaby Rudge,” was indicted for high treason, in levying war against the Crown. Erskine defended him, and by the force of his matchless advocacy, secured his acquittal. The extract given is the concluding passage of his splendid speech.

evidence, to infect your imaginations, who are upon your oaths dispassionately and disinterestedly to try the offence of assembling a multitude to petition for the repeal of a law—by blending it with the subsequent catastrophe, on which every man's mind may be supposed to retain some degree of irritation ! O fie ! O fie ! it is taking advantage of all the infirmities of our nature ! Do they wish you, while you are listening to the evidence, to connect it with consequences in spite of reason and truth, to hang the millstone of prejudice round his innocent neck to sink him ! If there be such men, may God forgive them for the attempt, and inspire you with fortitude and wisdom to do your duty to your fellow-citizens with calm, steady, reflecting minds. I may now, therefore, relieve you from the pain of hearing me any longer, and be myself relieved from a subject which agitates and distresses me. Since Lord George Gordon stands clear of every hostile act or purpose against the Legislature of his country, or the rights of his fellow-subjects—since the whole tenour of his conduct repels the belief of the traitorous intention charged by the indictment—my task is finished. I shall make no address to your passions. I will not remind you of the long and rigorous imprisonment he has suffered ; I will not speak to you of his great youth, of his illustrious birth, or of his uniformly animated and generous zeal in Parliament for the Constitution of his country. Such topics might be useful in the balance of a doubtful case. At present, the plain and rigid rules of justice and truth are sufficient to entitle me to your verdict : and may God Almighty, who is the sacred author of both, fill your minds with the deepest impression of them, and with virtue to follow those impressions ! You will then restore my innocent client to liberty, and me to that peace of mind which, since the protection of his innocence in any part depended upon me, I have never known.

#### BRITISH DOMINION\*

If your dependencies have been secured and their interests promoted, I am driven, in the defence of my client, to remark that it is mad and preposterous to bring to the standard of justice and humanity the exercise of a dominion founded upon violence and terror. It may and must be true that Mr. Hastings has repeatedly offended against the rights and privileges of Asiatic Government. If he was the faithful deputy of a Power which could not maintain itself for an hour without trampling upon both, he may and must have offended against the laws of God and Nature ; if he was the faithful Viceroy of an Empire wrested in blood from the people to whom God and Nature had given it, he may and must have preserved that unjust dominion over timorous and abject nations, by a terrifying, overbearing, insulting superiority ; if he was the faithful administrator of your Government which, having no root in consent or affection, no foundation in similarity of interests, nor support from any one principle that cements men together in society, could only be upheld by alternate stratagem and force. The unhappy people of India, feeble and effeminate as they are from the softness of their climate, and subdued and broken as they have been by the bravery and strength of civilisation, still occasionally start up in all the vigour and intelligence of insulted nature :

\* The extracts are from the speech delivered in 1789, in defending Stockdale, the bookseller, for publishing a pamphlet defaming the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Campbell says of this remarkable utterance, " I have been told by my father-in-law, the late Lord Abinger, who was present when this speech was delivered, that the effect upon the audience was wholly unexampled—they all actually believed that they saw before them the Indian chief with his bundle of sticks and his tomahawk ; their breasts thrilled with the notes of his unlettered eloquence, and they thought they heard him raise the war sound of his nation." Stockdale was acquitted by the jury.

to be governed at all they must be governed by an iron rod ; and our Empire in the East would have been long since lost to Great Britain, if civil and military prowess had not united their efforts to support an authority which Heaven never gave, by means which it never can sanction.

Gentlemen, I think I can observe that you are touched with this way of considering the subject, and I can account for it. I have not been considering it through the cold medium of books, but have been speaking of man and his nature, and of human dominion, from what I have seen of them myself, amongst reluctant nations submitting to our authority. I know what they feel, and how such feelings alone can be repressed. I have heard them in my youth from a naked savage, in the indignant character of a prince surrounded by his subjects, addressing the governor of a British Colony holding a bundle of sticks as the notes of his unlettered eloquence. " Who is it," said the jealous ruler over the desert encroached upon by the restless foot of English adventurers, " who is it that causes this river to rise in the high mountains and to empty itself into the ocean ? Who is it that causes to blow the loud winds of winter, and then calms them again in the summer ? Who is it that rears up the shade of those lofty forests, and blasts them with quick lightning at His pleasure ? The same Being who gave to you a country on the other sides of the waters, and gave ours to us ; and by this title we will defend it," said the warrior, throwing down his tomahawk upon the ground, and raising the war sound of his nation. These are the feelings of subjugated men all round the globe, and, depend upon it, nothing but fear will control where it is vain to look for affection.

But under the pressure of such constant difficulties, so dangerous to national honour, it might be better, perhaps, to think of effectually securing it altogether, by recalling our troops and our merchants and abandoning our Asiatic Empire. Until this be done, neither religion nor philosophy can be pressed very far into aid of reformation and punishment. If England, from a lust of ambition and dominion, will assist on maintaining despotic rule over distant and hostile nations, beyond all comparison more numerous and extended than herself, and gives commission to her viceroys to govern them, with no other instructions than to preserve them and to secure permanently their revenues—with what colour, or consistency, or reason, can she place herself in the moral chair and affect to be shocked at the execution of her own orders, adverting to the exact measure of wickedness and injustice necessary to their execution, and complaining only of the excess as immorality—considering her authority as a dispensation for breaking the commands of God, and the breach of them as only punishable when contrary to the ordinances of man ? Such a proceeding, gentlemen, begets serious reflections. It would be, perhaps, better for the masters and servants of all such Governments to join in supplication, that the great Author of violated humanity may not confound them together in one common judgment.

#### THE TRUTHS OF CHRISTIANITY

How any man can rationally vindicate the publication of such a book,\* in a country where the Christian religion is the very foundation of the law of the land, I am totally at a loss to conceive, and have no wish to discuss. How is a tribunal, whose whole jurisdiction is founded upon the solemn belief and practice of what is denied as falsehood and reprobated as impiety, to deal with such an anomalous defence ? Upon what principle is it ever offered to the Court, whose authority

\* Paine's " Age of Reason."

is contemned and mocked at ? If the religion proposed to be called in question is not previously adopted in belief and solemnly acted upon, what authority has the Court to pass any judgment at all of acquittal or condemnation ? Why am I now, or upon any other occasion, to submit to your Lordship's authority ? Why am I now, or at any time, to address twelve of my equals, as I am now addressing you, with reverence and submission ? Under what sanction are the witnesses to give their evidence, without which there can be no trial ? Under what obligations can I call upon you, the jury, representing your country, to administer justice ? Surely upon no other than that you are sworn to administer it under the oaths you have taken. The whole judicial fabric, from the King's sovereign authority to the lowest office of magistracy, has no other foundation. The whole is built, both in form and substance, upon the same oath of every one of its Ministers, to do justice "as God shall help them hereafter." What God ? and what hereafter ? That God, undoubtedly, who has commanded kings to rule, and judges to decree with justice ; who has said to witnesses, not by the voice of Nature, but in revealed commandments, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour" ; and who has enforced obedience to them by the revelation of the unutterable blessings which shall attend their observances, and the awful punishments which shall await upon their transgressions.

But it seems this course of reason, and the time and the person are at last arrived, that are to dissipate the errors which have overspread the past generations of ignorance ? The believers in Christianity are many, but it belongs to the few that are wise to correct their credulity ! Belief is an act of reason ; and superior reason may, therefore, dictate to the weak. In running the mind along the numerous list of sincere and devout Christians, I cannot help lamenting that Newton had not lived to this day, to have had his shallowness filled up with this new flood of light. But the subject is too awful for irony. I will speak plainly and directly. Newton was a Christian ! Newton, whose mind burst from the fetters cast by Nature upon our finite conceptions ; Newton, whose science was truth, and the foundation of whose knowledge of it was philosophy :—not those visionary and arrogant assumptions which too often usurp its name, but philosophy resting on the basis of mathematics, which, like figures, cannot lie :—Newton, who carried the line and rule to the utmost barriers of Creation, and explored the principles by which, no doubt, all created matter is held together and exists. But this extraordinary man, in the mighty reach of his mind, overlooked, perhaps, the errors which a minuter investigation of the created things on this earth might have taught him of the essence of his Creator. What shall, then, be said of the great Mr. Boyle, who looked into the organic structure of all matter, even to the brute inanimate substances which the foot treads on ? Such a man may be supposed to have been equally qualified with Mr. Paine to "look through Nature, up to Nature's God." Yet the result of all his contemplation was the most confirmed and devout belief in all which the other holds in contempt as despicable and drivelling superstition. But this error might, perhaps, arise from a want of due attention to the foundations of human judgment, and the structure of that understanding which God has given us for the investigation of truth. Let that question be answered by Mr. Locke, who was, to the highest pitch of devotion and adoration, a Christian. Mr. Locke, whose office was to detect the errors of thinking, by going up to the fountains of thought, and to divert into the proper track of reasoning the devious mind of man, by showing him its whole process, from the first perceptions of sense to the last conclusions of ratiocination ; putting a rein, besides, upon false opinion, by practical rules for the conduct of human judgment.

## Thomas, Lord Erskine, 1750-1823

But these men were only deep thinkers, and lived in their closets, unaccustomed to the traffic of the world, and to the laws which practically regulate mankind. Gentlemen, in the place where you now sit to administer the justice of this great country, above a century ago Sir Matthew Hale presided, whose faith in Christianity is an exalted commentary upon its truth and reason, and whose life was a glorious example of its fruits in man; administering human justice with a wisdom and purity drawn from the pure fountain of the Christian dispensation, which has been, and will be in all ages, a subject of the highest reverence and admiration.

But it is said by Mr. Paine that the Christian fable is but the tale of the more ancient superstition of the world, and may be easily detected by the proper understanding of the mythologies of the heathens. Did Milton understand these mythologies? Was he less versed than Mr. Paine in the superstitions of the world? No; they were the subject of his immortal song; and though shut out from all recurrence to them, he poured them forth from the stores of a memory rich with all that man ever knew, and laid them in their order as the illustration of that real and exalted faith, the unquestionable source of that fervid genius which cast a sort of shade upon all the other works of man.

He passed the bounds of flaming space,  
Where angels tremble while they gaze;  
He saw, till, blasted with excess of light,  
He closed his eyes in endless night.

But it was the light of the body only that was extinguished, "the celestial light shone inward," and enabled him to "justify the ways of God to man." The result of his thinking was, nevertheless, not the same as Mr. Paine's. The mysterious incarnation of our blessed Saviour, which the "Age of Reason" blasphemes in words so wholly unfit for the mouth of a Christian, or for the ear of a court of justice, that I dare not, and will not, give them utterance—Milton made the grand conclusion of "Paradise Lost," the rest of his finished labours, and the ultimate hope, expectation, and glory of the world:

*A virgin is his mother, but His Sire,  
The power of the Most High; He shall ascend  
The throne hereditary, and bound His reign  
With earth's wide bounds, His glory with the heavens.*

The immortal poet having thus put into the mouth of the angel the prophecy of man's redemption, follows it with the solemn and beautiful admonition, addressed in the poem to our great first parent, but intended as an address to his posterity throughout all generations:

This having learned, thou hast attained the sum  
Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the stars  
Thou knewest by name, and all th' ethereal powers,  
All secrets of the deep, all Nature's works,  
Or works of God in heaven, air, earth, or sea,  
And all the riches of this world enjoy'st,  
And all the rule one empire: only add  
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,  
Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,  
By name to come called charity, the soul  
Of all the rest; then wilt thou not be loth  
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess  
A paradise within thee, happier far.

Thus you find all that is great, or wise, or splendid, or illustrious, among created beings—all the minds gifted beyond ordinary nature, if not inspired by their universal author for the advancement and dignity of the world, though divided by distant ages, and by the clashing opinions distinguishing them from one another,



yet joining, as it were, in one sublime chorus to celebrate the truths of Christianity, and laying upon its holy altars the never-failing offerings of their immortal wisdom.—*From the Speech for the prosecution in the case of Williams, the printer of Paine's "Age of Reason," who was indicted at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality in 1792.*

## HIGH TREASON\*

The unfortunate man whose innocence I am defending is arraigned before you of high treason, upon evidence not only repugnant to the statute, but such as never yet was heard of in any capital trial evidence (I tremble for my boldness in standing up for the life of a man, when I am conscious I am incapable of understanding from it even what acts are imputed to him); evidence which has consumed four days in the reading made up from the unconnected writings of men unknown to one another upon a hundred different subjects; evidence the very listening to which has filled my mind with unremitting distress and agitation, and which from its discordant nature has suffered me to reap no advantage from your indulgence, but which, on the contrary, has almost set my brain on fire with the vain endeavour to analyse it. . . . But read these books over and over again, and let us stand here a year and a day in discoursing concerning them, still the question must return to what you, and you only, can resolve. Is he guilty of that base, detestable intention to destroy the King?—not whether you suspect, nor whether it be probable; not whether he *may* be guilty; no, but that *probably* he is guilty. If you can say this upon the evidence, it is your duty to say so; and you may with a tranquil conscience return to your families, though by your judgment the unhappy object of it must return no more to his. Alas! gentlemen, what do I say? He has no family to return to; the affectionate partner of his life has already fallen a victim to the surprise and horror of the scene now transacting. But let that melancholy reflection pass—it should not, perhaps, have been introduced—it certainly ought to have no weight with you; you are to judge upon your oaths. I do not stand here to desire you to commit perjury from compassion; but, at the same time, my earnestness may be given, since it proceeds from a weakness common to us all. I claim no merit with the prisoner for my zeal; it proceeds from a selfish principle inherent in the human heart. I am counsel, gentlemen, for myself. In every word I utter, I feel that I am pleading for the safety of my own life, for the lives of my children after me, for the happiness of my country, and for the universal condition of civil society throughout the world. . . .

Men may assert the right of every people to choose their own Government without seeking to destroy their own. This accounts for many expressions imputed to the unfortunate prisoners, which I have often uttered myself and shall continue to utter every day of my life, and call upon the spies of Government to record them. I will say anywhere without fear—nay, I will say in this court where I stand—that “an attempt to interfere by despotic combination and violence with any Government which a people choose to give to themselves, whether it be good or evil, is an oppression and subversion of the natural and inalienable rights of man”; and, though the Government of this country should countenance such a system, it would not only be still legal for me to express my detestation of

\* This is a passage from the speech delivered by Erskine at the Old Bailey in 1794, in the charge of High Treason brought against Thomas Hardy, the shoemaker, a member of one of the “Corresponding Societies” to which the French Revolution gave birth in this country. Horne Tooke wrote of the address upon a copy of the report of the trial, “This speech will live for ever.” It was an extraordinary effort of forensic eloquence and skill, and created a remarkable impression at the time. Hardy was acquitted.

it, as I here deliberately express it, but it would become my interest and my duty to do so. For, if combinations of despotism can accomplish such a purpose, who shall tell me what other nation may not be the prey of their ambition? Upon the very principle of denying to a people the right of governing themselves, how are we to resist the French, should they attempt by violence to fasten their Government upon us? or what inducement would there be for resistance to preserve laws which are not, it seems, our own, but which are unalterably imposed upon us? The very argument strikes us with a palsy, the aim and vigour of the nation. I hold dear the privileges I am contending for, not as privileges hostile to the Constitution, but as necessary for its preservation; and if the French were to intrude by force upon the Government of our own free choice, I should leave these papers and return to a profession that I perhaps better understand.

#### DECLARATION OF PROTESTANTISM

My Lords, I have now only to assure you that no man can be more deeply impressed than I am with reverence to God and religion, and for all the ministers and professors of the Christian faith; I am sure that I need not except even the right reverend prelates in whose presence I make this solemn declaration. My Lords, I glory in the opportunity of making it. Would to God that my life could be as pure as my faith! I consider the Reformation, and its irresistible progress in the age which has succeeded it, as the grand era in which the Divine Providence began most visibly to fulfil the sacred and encouraging promises of the Gospel. I look forward, my Lords, with an anxiety which I cannot express, but with a hope which is inextinguishable, to the time when all the nations of the earth shall be collected under its shadow, and united in the enjoyment of its blessings. It is by that feeling, my Lords, mixed with what may perhaps be considered as the prejudices of education, but which I cannot myself consider to be prejudices, that I have been kept back from going the full length of Catholic expectation. I consider the Roman Catholic faith as a gross superstition—not chargeable upon the present generation, which contains thousands and tens of thousands of sincere and enlightened persons—but the result of the hardness of former ages, and which is just giving way under the hourly increasing lights of religious and philosophical truths; not that ruin and contemptible jargon which has usurped the name of philosophy, but the philosophy of Nature, which lifts up the mind to contemplation of the Almighty, by approaching to Him nearer, and discovering His attributes in the majesty and harmony of His works.—*From a Speech on Catholic Emancipation in the House of Lords in 1807.*

#### PATRIOTISM

Breathles there a man with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself has said,  
"This is my own, my native land";  
Whose heart has ne'er within him burn'd  
When home his footsteps he has turn'd  
From wandering on a foreign strand.

The accomplished author well knew that there was no such Scotsman; no, I verily believe there is no such man—the Great Author of our nature having implanted in us all an instinctive love of our country. It is this which makes the heart throb and vibrate when the eye recalls even the inanimate scenes of our earliest youth. A waste covered with heath or broom, varied, perhaps, by no higher vegetation than a few stunted trees half dead with age, which are yet remembered,

will more affect the imagination of every human being, and will fill him with a far higher delight than the most splendid scenery which nature assisted by art ever produced. It is on this account that, when I shall visit St. Andrews, the sequestered place to which my excellent parents retired for so many years, to perform the most sacred duty to their children, I shall feel more than I can express. The lifeless unadorned street, in which a traveller would read his book as he drove through it, will electrify me at every step. I shall gaze upon the old plastered church wall (if it be yet standing) where I used to toil at fives when I was a boy, with more pleasure than St. Peter's at Rome could bestow. Gentlemen, these sentiments are quite universal, and they illustrate the Divine Providence in the economy of the world. Some regions are covered with the never-fading fruits and flowers, whilst in others vegetation sickens and human life almost goes out; but the instinctive love of country gives, in the estimation of the native, equal lustre and enjoyment to them all. Without this attachment, indeed, there would be no such thing as a people, so we should be still, as in the earliest times, scattered tribes, roaming about in search of spots where acorns are most abundant, or wild animals may be most easily snared."—*From a Speech at Edinburgh at a complimentary banquet given in Erskine's honour in 1821, on the occasion of his last visit to Scotland.*

#### GEORGE CANNING, 1770-1827.

Statesman and orator. Born in London, of Irish descent on the father's side, Canning's early years were spent in the shadow of poverty. An uncle, attracted by the boy's early promise, sent him to Hyde Abbey School, Winchester, and afterwards to Eton. There he displayed, in the editing of a periodical called *The Microcosm*, the high literary attainments by which he was afterwards distinguished. From Eton he passed to Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. His political career commenced in 1794, when he entered Parliament for Newport, Isle of Wight, as a supporter of Pitt. That statesman, recognising his brilliant talents, nominated him for an Under-Secretaryship of State, and this, with his marriage shortly afterwards to a lady of fortune, placed him in easy circumstances. When Pitt resigned in 1801 on the question of Catholic Emancipation, Canning followed him into retirement. The return of Pitt to power in 1804 saw Canning once more in office, his position being that of Treasurer of the Navy. In 1807, during the Premiership of the Duke of Portland, Canning was promoted to the Foreign Secretaryship, but he was compelled to resign in 1809, in consequence of a duel on Putney Heath with Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary for War. Lord Liverpool's Premiership, witnessed Canning's employment on a special mission to the Court of Lisbon. On his return he was appointed President of the Board of Control. Later he was nominated as the Governor-General of India, but before he could leave to take up his office the death of Lord Castlereagh occurred and paved the way to his appointment as Foreign Secretary. In April, 1827, on Lord Liverpool's retirement, Canning was appointed to the supreme position in the Ministry, but his Premiership was a brief one. Worn out with public cares he expired on Aug. 8th in the same year, at the Duke of Devonshire's Villa at Chiswick, in the identical room in which Fox had breathed his last.

#### THE DELIVERANCE OF EUROPE\*

THAT we have objects, great and momentous objects, in our view, there is no man that must not feel. I can have no difficulty in declaring that the most complete and desirable termination of the contest would be the deliverance of Europe. I

\* This and the subsequent extracts are from a speech delivered by Canning in the House of Commons on Dec. 11th, 1798, on Mr. Tierney's motion, "That it is the duty of his Majesty's Ministers to advise his Majesty, in the present crisis against entering into engagements which may prevent or impede a negotiation for peace, whenever a disposition shall be shown on the part of the French Republic, to treat on terms consistent with the security and interest of the British Empire." The debate was dull until Mr. Canning intervened, but his speech, according to one of his biographers, "electrified the House and inspired the country at large with the highest admiration of his talents." It laid the foundation, in fact, of that great reputation which placed him in the very first rank of British statesmen.

am told, indeed, that there are persons who affect not to understand this phrase ; who think there is something confused, something involved, something of studied ambiguity and concealment in it. I cannot undertake to answer for other gentlemen's powers of comprehension. The map of Europe is before them. I can only say, that I do not admire that man's intellects, and I do not envy that man's feelings who can look over that map without gathering some notion of what is meant by the deliverance of Europe. I do not envy that man's feelings who can behold the sufferings of Switzerland, and who derives from that sight no idea of what is meant by the deliverance of Europe. I do not envy the feelings of that man who can look without emotion at Italy, plundered, insulted, trampled upon, exhausted, covered with ridicule, and horror, and devastation ; who can look at all this, and be at a loss to guess what is meant by the deliverance of Europe. As little do I envy the feelings of that man who can view the people of the Netherlands driven into insurrection, and struggling for their freedom against the heavy hand of a merciless tyranny, without entertaining any suspicion of what may be the sense of the word deliverance. Does such a man contemplate Holland, groaning under arbitrary oppressions and exactions ? Does he turn his eyes to Spain, trembling at the nod of a foreign master ? And does the word deliverance still sound unintelligibly in his ear ? Has he heard of the rescue and salvation of Naples by the appearance and the triumphs of the British fleet ? Does he know that the monarchy of Naples maintains its existence at the sword's point ? And is his understanding, and is his heart, still impenetrable to the sense and meaning of the deliverance of Europe ?

## FRENCH AGGRESSION

We, it seems—a wise, prudent, reflecting people—are much struck with all the outrages that France has committed upon the Continent ; but on the powers of the Continent itself no lasting impression has been made. Is this probable ? Is it possible ? Is it in the nature of things, that the contemplation of the wrongs and miseries which others have endured, should have worked a deeper impression upon our minds, than the suffering of those miseries and wrongs has left on the minds of those upon whom they were actually inflicted ?

“  
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,  
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Yet the echo and report of the blows by which other countries have fallen, are supposed to have had more effect upon us, than the blows themselves produced upon the miserable victims who sunk beneath them.

The pillage and bloody devastation of Italy strike *us* with horror ; but Italy, we are to believe, is contented with what has befallen her. The insults which are hurled by the French garrison from the walls of the citadel of Turin rouse resentment in *our* breasts, but have no effect on the feelings of the Piedmontese. *We* read with indignation of the flag of Bernadotte displayed in mockery and insult to the Emperor and his subjects ; but it flaunted in the eyes of the people of Vienna without exciting any emotions of hatred and resentment. The invasion of a province of a friendly Power with whom they had no cause nor pretext for hostility, has created in *us* a decided detestation for the unprincipled hypocrisy and ambition of the Directory ; but the Ottoman Porte sits down contented with the loss of Egypt, feels no injury, and desires neither reparation nor revenge.

And then, Sir, the wrongs of Switzerland ! They, too, are calculated to excite an interest *here* ; but the Swiss no doubt endure them with quiet resignation and contented humility. If, after the taking of Soleure, the venerable magistrates of that place were first paraded round the town in barbarous triumph, and afterwards, contrary to all the laws of war, of nations, and of nature, were inhumanly put to death ; if, when the unoffending town of Sion capitulated to the French, the troops were let loose to revel in every species of licentiousness and cruelty,—if the women, after having been brutally violated, were thrown alive into the flames ; if, more recently, when Stantz was carried after a short but vigorous and honourable resistance, such as would have conciliated the esteem of any but a French conqueror, the whole town was burnt to the ground, and the ashes quenched with the blood of the inhabitants : the bare recital of these horrors and atrocities awakens in British bosoms, I trust it *does* awaken, I trust it will long keep alive, an abhorrence of the nation and name of that people by whom such execrable cruelties have been practised, and such terrible calamities inflicted : but on the Swiss (we are to understand) these cruelties and calamities have left no lasting impression ; the inhabitants of Soleure, who followed with tears of anguish and indignation their venerated magistrates to a death of terror and ignominy ; the husbands and fathers and sons of those wretched victims who expired in torture and in shame beneath the brutality of a savage soldiery at Sion : the wretched survivors of those who perished in the ruins of their country at Stantz ; *they* all felt but a transient pang : *their* tears by this time are dried ; *their* rage is hushed ; *their* resentment silenced : there is nothing in *their* feelings which can be stimulated into honourable and effectual action ; there is no motive for *their* exertions, upon which we can safely and permanently rely ! Sir, I should be ashamed to waste your time by arguing such a question.—*Speech in the House of Commons on Dec. 11th, 1798.*

#### THE OVERTHROW OF HOLLAND AND SPAIN

The friendship of Holland ! The independence of Spain ! Is there a man so besotted as to suppose that there is one hour of peace with France preserved by either of these unhappy countries, that there is one syllable of friendship uttered by them towards France, but what is extorted by the immediate pressure, or by the dread and terror, of French arms ?

Mouth-honour, breath  
Which the poor heart would fain refuse, but dare not !

Have the regenerated republic of Holland, or the degraded monarchy of Spain, such reason to rejoice in the protection of the French Republic, that they would voluntarily throw themselves between her and any blow which might menace her existence ? Holland once had wealth, had industry, had commerce. Where are they now ? Gone ; swallowed up in the all-devouring gulf of French bankruptcy. Holland once had flourishing colonies ; them, perhaps, France has preserved for her. The flag of the enemies of France is flying in Ceylon, and at the Cape of Good Hope. Holland once had a navy, a navy of strength and gallantry and reputation, a navy which has often contended even with our own, and contended with no mean exertion, for the mastery of the sea. Where is it now ? Where is the skill which directed, the promptness, courage and vigour which manned it ? All utterly destroyed and gone. The baneful touch of French fraternity has blasted the reputation, has unmanned the strength, has bowed the spirit

of the people, in the same proportion as it has exhausted the resources of the country. The spirit of the people is bowed, it is true ; but let us trust that it is not broken ; let us hope that, if an opening should be presented, it may yet spring up with sudden and irresistible violence, to the astonishment and overthrow of its oppressors.

Spain, however, it may be said, is still powerful, and still a monarchy ; to Spain, therefore, the friendship of France must have been offered on more equal and durable terms. An alliance with a Bourbon cemented with Bourbon blood cannot but be lasting. I look at Spain, Sir, and it must be owned I find her still a monarchy ; she has not yet received the blessing of a Directory and two consuls. But I confess I perceive no one of those features by which the monarchy of Spain has heretofore been distinguished. I see nothing of power ; I can discover nothing of policy. I know that to be engaged in an impolitic war is not of itself an unheard-of or an unaccountable novelty. Spain has, no doubt, been often engaged, as well as other Powers, in wars of pride, in wars of ambition, in wars of doubtful or mistaken interest. In an absolute monarchy, too, like Spain, it must often have happened that, in matters of war or alliance, as well as of internal regulation and domestic policy, the will of the Prince, guided either by shallow favouritism, or by crooked intrigue, has at times adopted measures prejudicial to the welfare of his subjects. A powerful and haughty nobility, a numerous and highly privileged clergy, may at other times have given an impulse to the direction of affairs agreeable only to their own prejudices and partial interests. At other times, again, the tempest of popular fury has overborne both the will of the Prince and the power of the aristocracy, and driven the machine of government wholly out of its natural course and direction. But a situation of things, in which the Crown is enthralled, the aristocracy humbled, and the nation in general degraded and impoverished, not by the effects of internal struggle, or the perverse preponderance of any one party or member of the State, but by the palpable, undisguised, and oppressive agency of a foreign Power : this is indeed an unusual situation for an independent kingdom. Such is, however, the situation of Spain. The power of the monarch, the prejudices and privileges of the higher orders, the comfort, happiness, and almost subsistence of the mass of people, are all embarked together in a war of which the success or failure must be equally fatal to them all : a war which has committed that country with an enemy whom it dares not face, and has linked it to the fortunes, and subjected it to the will, of an ally, whose friendship is more formidable than hostility : a war which has brought into contempt the authority of the government and the character of the nation ; which has exhausted the commercial and annihilated their military marine ; which, in precluding their intercourse with their colonies, has cut off the springs of wealth that fed the State, and the streams of commerce that enriched the country ; a war which has done more in two short years, under the auspices of France, to carry into execution that vote of the British Parliament in 1707, to wrest the monarchy of Spain and the Spanish West Indies from the possession of the House of Bourbon, than all the exertions of this country could ever have effected, than all its enmity could ever have desired.—*Speech in the House of Commons on Dec. 11th, 1798.*

#### UNION WITH IRELAND

A measure, the necessity of which, arising from the causes which I have stated, argues no blame to the people or to the Government of Ireland. The fault is in the nature of things, in the present disposition of property, and division of the

classes of society in that country. They want commerce, they want capital, they want a generally diffused spirit of industry and order; they want those classes of men who connect the upper and lower orders of society, and who thereby blend together and harmonise the whole. But it is not an Act of Parliament that would effect these great and beneficial objects; no, it is only by a connection with a country which has capital, which has commerce, which has that middle class of men, of whom skill and enterprise and sober orderly habits are the peculiar characteristics: it is by such a connection alone, diffusing these blessings, diffusing the means of wealth, and the example and encouragement of industry throughout the sister kingdom, it is by such a connection that so great and beneficial a change must be effected. We have seen partial remedies tried—but, as might be expected, with partial success. We have seen manufactures flourish—but the cottage, which borders on the manufactory, remaining in wretchedness. There remains one great experiment to be tried. If, from the concurrent testimony of opposite sects and parties, we are warranted in believing that it may be made with advantage to all; if, in addition to the immediate safety of Ireland, and the strengthening of the Empire, it promise to produce in the interior of that country consequences so beneficial to its internal prosperity and happiness. Surely we have heard no arguments to-night which ought to prevent the House from entering upon a discussion of the subject. . . .

Sir, it is little praise of the measure now proposed for our consideration to say that it will be more perfect and comprehensive than the final adjustment of 1782. The question, indeed, which I conjure the House not to refuse to consider, is not a question of slight importance—it is a question upon which depends the safety of one member of the Empire, and the happiness of the whole. I conjure the House to recollect. What is the hazard in which Ireland stands, and what have been our fears and our anxiety for her preservation? If in estimating the splendid victories which have illustrated the naval annals of this country, and spread through the world the terror of her fame, we have ranked even with the most brilliant those by which Ireland has been saved—let the same sentiment induce us to receive with kindness, and to discuss with a sincere desire to bring it to perfection, a measure which is calculated to perpetuate to Ireland the safety which is the fruit of these victories, and to procure to her solid and permanent blessings far beyond the power of any victories to bestow! Sitting here as we do in tranquillity and security, protected by a powerful and energetic Government, in the bosom of a consenting and united people—with no invasion to resist, no rebellion to coerce or to appease—let us feel for the distractions and disquietudes of a country which the ties of nature, of friendship, of common language, manners, and interests, of laws and constitutions similar to our own, bind so indissolubly to ourselves, that separation would be to each, and to both of us, destructive. And, let us, at least, not refuse to consider a question which involves in itself the best, perhaps the only, means which can at once and for ever remove the dangers, and quiet the dissensions of Ireland, while they cement the connection which it is equally essential to both countries to strengthen.”—*Speech in the House of Commons on the King's Message relative to a Union with Ireland, Jan. 23rd, 1799.*

#### OPINION OF BONAPARTE

For my own part, having taken some share in former debates, in which that which is called abuse of Bonaparte was necessarily introduced, I am not sorry to have an opportunity of saying a very few words upon this subject, especially as

much has lately been said in this place of the unmanliness of the attacks which were made on the character of the First Consul at the period when his overtures for negotiation were declined by this Government, and of the shame which those who had any part in this language are now supposed to take to themselves, and the anxiety which it is apprehended they must feel to retract and disavow all that they then so rashly and illiberally uttered. Now, Sir, as I feel ~~any~~ sort of shame, and entertain not the smallest disposition to retract anything that was then said, I wish to explain the principles upon which I spoke, and upon which I now maintain whatever I did then say.

I do not know whether the hon. gentleman will quite understand me, because I do not know that we set out to argue this matter from the same principle; and if not, there is no hope of our coming to any understanding. My principle, Sir, is simply this: there is but one thing which I never wish to forbear speaking when called upon, and which, having spoken, I can at no time feel ashamed of, nor consent to disavow, retract, or qualify; and that is the truth. If what was said of Bonaparte was untrue, that is an accusation of which I know the meaning, and which, if need be, I am prepared to argue. But if it was true, I confess I am at a loss to conceive where the shame lies, or where the necessity for contradicting it. If, indeed, the nature and essence of truth were capable of being altered by subsequent events, there might be some call for caution in uttering it, and there might be some room for qualification afterwards.

But, if this be not the case, I really do not comprehend what is meant by desiring us, who said what we thought of Bonaparte's past actions at the time when we were called upon to examine them, and who still think precisely what we said of them, to take any shame to ourselves for our language. I at least still think as I then thought; and I do not see what ground the events of the last campaign can furnish for changing my opinion. If, for instance, in Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt there was treachery and fraud; if, in his conduct towards its inhabitants, there was unprovoked cruelty; if, in his assumption of the turban, there was impious hypocrisy; I called these qualities by their name: I call them so still; and I say that this hypocrisy, this cruelty, and this fraud have left indelible stains upon his character, which all the laurels of Marengo cannot cover, nor all its blood wash away. I know, Sir, there is a cautious, cowardly, bastard morality, which assumes the garb and tone of wisdom, and which prescribes to you to live with an enemy as if he were one day to become your friend. I distrust this doctrine for one reason, because I fear the same mind which could pride itself on adopting it would be capable of entertaining the doctrine which is the converse of it, and would prescribe living with a friend as if he were one day to become an enemy. If this be wisdom, I do not boast it; I can only say, Heaven grant me a host of such enemies, rather than one such friend!—*Speech in the House of Commons in 1800, in the debate on the subsidies to Germany.*

#### SPLENDID ISOLATION

"We have nothing to dread from France but a rivalry in commerce," says the hon. gentleman opposite to me (Mr. Fox). Look round, Sir, on the state of the world, and can such an argument, even from such a man, need farther refutation? "We may be safe and happy, if we will but keep to ourselves," says an hon. friend of mine (Mr. Wilberforce), of whom I am sure I mean to speak with every profession of that respect and esteem which his character claims; "if we will abjure the Continent; if, shut up in our own island, safe within the surrounding impassable



barrier of the sea, we confine our attention to objects immediately concerning our own comfort and happiness, and cultivate the arts of peace, unmolested and unmolested." True, if unmolested ; but these pictures of flowing felicity, these exhortations to inoffensive quiet, do they suit the times to which they are applied ? or will not my hon. friend condescend to consider their practical possibility, before he shuts us out from any other chance of safety, but what is to be found in our own disposition to repose ? Happy times, indeed, if they ever shall come, when we can realise these dreams of independent and unconnected security, when we can do without any intercourse with the corrupt nations of the Continent, wretches whose territories are separated from each other by no other barriers than mountains and rivers, and who are consequently unfit for any intercourse with a pure insulated people like ourselves ! Then shall the din of war never reach our tranquil shores ! Then, instead of traversing the boisterous ocean, at the imminent hazard of their lives, our sailors shall be raised, for peaceful purposes, on the margins of duck-ponds, and the towing-paths of canals ! But till this millennium does arrive, in God's name, Sir, let us look about us ! Let us consider the state of the world as it is, not as we fancy it ought to be ! Let us not seek to hide from our own eyes, or to diminish in the eyes of those who look to our deliberations for information, the real, imminent, and awful danger which threatens us, from the overgrown power, the insolent spirit, and, still more, the implacable hatred of our natural rivals and enemies ! Let us not amuse ourselves with vain notions, that our greatness and our happiness, as a nation, are capable of being separated. It is no such thing. The choice is not in our power. We have, as my hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan) has well observed, no refuge in littleness. We must maintain ourselves what we are, or cease to have a political existence worth preserving.—*Speech in the Debate in the House of Commons on the Army Estimates, Dec. 8th, 1802.*

#### AN APPRECIATION OF PITT

When posterity shall look back upon that great man, they will discriminate two different eras in his life. The one, when, on his succession to the Government of the country, he found the finances of the State dilapidated, and its resources enervated by an ill-conducted war. It was then that, with a skilful and repairing hand, he restored the credit of the country, recruited its exhausted means, explored and expanded its capacities for exertion, and laid the foundation of that solid system, of which it is enough to say that it has endured amid the storms which have assailed it since that time. From this statement it may be confidently inferred that war could not be more the passion of Mr. Pitt than, most assuredly, it could be his interest. Whether it were, nevertheless, the fault of Mr. Pitt or not (the fault, I mean, of his judgment), that we were engaged, precisely at the moment at which we were engaged, in the war which has continued, with little intermission, to the present time, may, perhaps, be matter of historical controversy ; but that, by no human wisdom, and by no human forbearance, that war could have been deferred many years, or perhaps many months, the impartial historian will, I think, find it easy to demonstrate. But be that as it may ; however we may have been brought into the war, what admits of no controversy at all is, that, from the reviving energy of his early Administration, the country derived that strength by which it has been enabled to go through the contest. The second era of his political life began at the period when, from the centre of Europe, burst forth that volcanic eruption of desolating principles which threatened to overwhelm the civilised world. The firm resistance which Mr. Pitt opposed to the dangers

then menacing the country ; the promptitude with which he took his stand on the ground of the Constitution, and the courage with which he maintained it ; the voice wherewith he roused the people ; the mighty arm wherewith he saved the monarchy, I need not recall to your recollection ; for it is in faithful commemoration of these eminent services that you have this day called upon his name.

Gentlemen, into whatever hands the administration of the Government may be committed, I hope that the Ministers will keep Mr. Pitt's example before their eyes ; that they will catch, from that example, reverence for the Constitution and zeal for the glory of their country ; that they will learn from it to unite the interests of the people with those of the Crown, in their domestic Government ; and to uphold, by adequate exertions, and by a tone and vigour of councils worthy of the high station to which Great Britain is entitled among the nations of the earth, the British name and influence abroad.—*Speech at Liverpool in 1812.*

#### THE CANT OF "MEASURES, NOT MEN !"

I know not a more solemn or important duty that a member of Parliament can have to discharge than by giving at fit seasons a free opinion upon the character and qualities of public men. Away with the cant of "measures, not men !" the idle supposition that it is the harness and not the horses that draw the chariot along ! No, Sir, if the comparison must be made, if the distinction must be taken, men are everything, measures comparatively nothing. I speak, Sir, of times of difficulty and danger ; of times when systems are shaken, when precedents and general rules of conduct fail. Then it is that not to this or that measure, however prudently devised, however blameless in execution, but to the energy and character of individuals, a State must be indebted for its salvation. Then it is that kingdoms rise or fall in proportion as they are upheld, not by well-meant endeavours (laudable though they may be), but by commanding, over-awing talents ; by able men. And what is the nature of the times in which we live ? Look at France, and see what we have to cope with, and consider what has made her what she is. A man. You will tell me that she was great, and powerful, and formidable, before the date of Bonaparte's government ; that he found in her great physical and moral resources ; that he had but to turn them to account. True, and he did so. Compare the situation in which he found France with that to which he has raised her. I am no panegyrist of Bonaparte ; but I cannot shut my eyes to the superiority of his talents, to the amazing ascendant of his genius. Tell me not of his measures, and his policy. It is his genius, his character, that keeps the world in awe. Sir, to meet, to check, to curb, to stand up against him, we want arms of the same kind. I am far from objecting to the large military establishments which are proposed to you. I vote for them with all my heart. But for the purpose of coping with Bonaparte, one great commanding spirit is worth them all.—*Speech in the Debate on the Army Estimates in the House of Commons on Dec. 8th, 1802.*

#### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

Some persons picture out the cruelties of the Roman Catholics, in the first periods of the Reformation. But what should we say of being reminded of all the violence of the reformers ; of the anabaptists in Munster ; of the severities in the days of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth ; of the deliberate burning of Servetus ; of the oath in Scotland, and of the furious proceedings of John Knox ? It is the duty of a wise Legislature to prevent all such calamities by the earliest

means. I have been shocked, in walking through the streets of the metropolis, to see a placard exhibited to the gaze of the vulgar, called, "The Awful Warning of St. Bartholomew's." Who the author was I know not, and God forbid I should have any acquaintance with him; for what but the most mischievous effects can it be calculated to produce? Why should such a history as this be now published? What have the people now to do with the conduct of Charles the Eleventh of France, or with the Guises sprinkling themselves with the blood of an unfortunate victim, and the Duke of Angoulême surveying his murdered body with emotions of delight? This publication contained not only a history of the massacre, but was accompanied by plates to heighten the exhibition. There was also a name on the front of it, which I lamented to see. It was described as sacred to the memory of Mr. Perceval, whose relative situation to this country was represented as similar to that of De Coligny in France. Speaking of Mr. Perceval, likening him to De Coligny, it said, that he fell, like him, in the service of his king, his country, and his God! If, with a deep sense of a dispensation so awful and afflicting as that which has recently occurred in the murder of Mr. Perceval, I might think that Providence had given me any consolation, it was in sparing us from the mischiefs that might have been occasioned had the foul assassin been either an Irishman or a Catholic. In the earliest period of the French revolution, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was exhibited on the stage, as a public spectacle for the people, and why was it so exhibited? For the purpose of extinguishing animosities? No: but with a view to kindle animosities, and inflame those which already existed; not to put down the spirit of religious hatred, discord, and persecution, but to provoke new massacres.—*Speech made in the House of Commons on June 29th, 1812, in support of a motion in favour of Catholic Emancipation.*

#### PEACE AND WAR

I am not saying (God forbid I should say so!) let us continue a war, otherwise unnecessary and unavoidable, for the sake of military glory. I am not even quarrelling with that sober and staid philosophy which views all military glory as delusive and dangerous to mankind. I am only desiring that there may be something of impartiality in our moral animadversions; and that, if (as I contend) peace cannot be had, and if (as is the natural consequence) war must be endured, we may be allowed, as well as our enemy, to mitigate (I will not say to compensate) what we suffer in privation by what we gain in glory.

Gentlemen, I do not say, that this splendid accession of military fame ought to make us enamoured of the war, or to reconcile us to persevering in it, if a solid peace were really attainable. But are they who impute this argument to us, and who maintain the adverse argument themselves, prepared to say that peace, purchased at *any* price, is preferable to a war carried on with such sacrifices as we are making? If they are, I take the liberty of telling them, that one part of the price which we should now have to pay for peace would be the surrender of our maritime rights, and therewith, at no distant time, of the very commerce for which they are so anxious to provide. If they answer, as they sometimes do, that they do not mean total surrender, then I reply, that they have, as I said before, no right to take the benefit to themselves of all the general arguments for peace in the abstract; for there are, in that case, certain terms on which they themselves would not make peace—on which they themselves would continue the miseries of war; and the question between them and us, therefore, is *not*, as they state it, "Peace or war?" but, "Is peace *now* attainable on terms such as even

they would recommend or sanction ? ” This may be, and it is, a very weighty question ; but it is *not* the question which has been so loudly clamoured in your ears, and the happy and easy solution of which was promised to you, if you would return my antagonists to Parliament.

Return them to Parliament, you were told, and the streets of Liverpool would presently resound again with the hum of peaceful industry, and your ports would again be crowded with the commerce of the world. I have never answered these representations but by one question :—If England sink, how is Liverpool to survive ? In other words, such ought, undoubtedly, to be the effects of peace ; but that such should be its effects must depend upon the character of the peace, and not merely upon the name.—*Speech at a public dinner at Liverpool on Oct. 26th, 1812.*

#### WAR AND SCARCITY

After the most serious investigation, I confess I am at a loss to discover the natural and necessary connection between the bountiful blessings of Providence and the election of Messrs. Brougham and Creevy. Many of you have read a tale which is in the hands of your children : I mean Dr. Johnson's " Rasselas," in which there is an account of a philosopher who fancied himself to have a control over the sunshine and the showers, and who busied himself in distributing the proper proportions of these favours, as he thought fit, to the different countries of the earth. Whether my competitors have a power like this I have not been able to ascertain. I do not mean to impute to my competitors that they arrogate it to themselves ; they are too manly and upright to attempt the practice of so gross a delusion. But their panegyrists, who couple plenty with their name and scarcity with mine, are as absurd as the philosopher in " Rasselas " ; and they have not the excuse which he had for his folly ; for, gentlemen, the philosopher was mad, but these reasoners can only be mischievous.

Gentlemen, there is, in point of fact, no such necessary connection between the question of war and the question of scarcity. I suppose any man will allow that the present year is a year of as extended war as ever Europe witnessed. We have seen in the southern part of Europe the city of Madrid entered by the victorious troops of Great Britain ; and we have this day heard, with horror, how the imperial city of the north has escaped from the ravages of the conqueror only by being consumed in flames of her own kindling. But, gentlemen, the same sun which guided the triumphal entry of Lord Wellington into Madrid, and which turned pale at the conflagration of Moscow, has ripened, during the present year, both in the north and in the south, one of the most luxuriant harvests that ever blessed mankind. Before the war-loaf is paraded again, let the philosophers who support my antagonists bring me the solution of this phenomenon.—*Speech at Liverpool in 1812, as candidate in opposition to Messrs. Brougham and Creevy.*

#### THE DOWNFALL OF BONAPARTE

What we have accomplished is establishing the foundation upon which the temple of peace may be erected ; and imagination may now picture the completion of that structure, which, with hopes less sanguine and hearts less high, it would have been folly to have attempted to raise. We may now confidently hope to arrive at the termination of labour, and the attainment of repose. It is impossible to look back to those periods when the enemy vaunted, and we perhaps

feared, that we should have been compelled to sue for peace, amid all the effervescings of joy, without returning thanks to Providence, that gave us courage and heart still to bear up against accumulating calamity. Peace is safe now, because it is not dictated : peace is safe now, for it is the fruit of exertion, the child of victory ! Peace is safe now, because it will not be purchased at the expense of the interest and the honour of the Empire : it is not the ransom to buy off danger, but the lovely fruit of the mighty means we have employed to drive danger from our shores.

With reference to the vote of this night, as far it may be considered prospective as to the exertions we are called upon in future to make, I must observe that, even if our hopes of peace should be postponed, or even disappointed, is it nothing to reflect upon the posture we are enabled to assume by the achievements we have already performed ? Is it nothing to look back upon the fallen, the crouching attitude of enslaved Europe, at a period not long distant, and compare it with the upright, free, undaunted posture in which she now stands ? Living memory can recall no period when she was entitled to hold her head so high, and to bid such bold defiance to her enemy. What, let me ask, is the first and brightest fruit of the late successful conflict ? First, that continuity of system—that instrument of not wholly ineffectual hostility against Great Britain, which, until lately, was supposed to be growing in strength and perfection, has been destroyed. That complex machine, directed against our trade, has received a blow which has shivered it to atoms. The enemy is doubly defeated ; his arms and his artifices have failed. Burdened as it was, still there is something in the incomprehensible nature of commerce which rises under the weight of the most powerful tyranny. His efforts have been exhausted ; his monarchy was reduced to sink our commerce ; but, rising with tenfold vigour, it has defied his puny efforts, never to be repeated. The next point we have attained is the destruction of his own darling system of confederation ; I mean that system by which he has formed all the States of continental Europe into satellites of the French Empire, that move only as it moves, and act only by its influence. They are now emancipated ; the yoke has been removed from their shoulders. The nations rise superior to themselves—

Free, and to none accountable, preferring  
Hard liberty before the easy yoke  
Of servile pomp !

But, since all the events of war are precarious, it is possible that, after retiring awhile, the tyrant of Europe (now no longer its tyrant) may again burst forward, and again, with desolation in his train, awhile victorious, attempt to collect the fragments of that system, and to reconstruct that mighty engine which we have shattered, but which once, guided by his hand, hurled destruction on his foes. It is impossible ! After the defeats he has sustained all confidence between him and his vassal States must be annihilated. Admitting that they may be compelled again to act, can he rely upon their exertions, or can they depend upon his support ? He may go forth like that foul idol of which we heard so much in the last year, crushing his helpless victims beneath his chariot-wheels ; but he never again can yoke them to his car as willing instruments of destruction. Even if Austria, by base submission to the sacrifice of her honour, were to add the sacrifice of another daughter, and of another army of thirty thousand men, that mutual confidence which existed at the commencement of the last campaign can never be restored.

So much for the present state of Europe : but has this country gained nothing by the glorious contest, even supposing peace should be far distant ? Is it nothing

to Great Britain, even purchased at the high price stated by the noble lord, that, under all the severity of her sufferings, while her trade declined, that her military character has been exalted? Is it no satisfaction, no compensation to her to reflect that the splendid scenes displayed on the Continent are owing to her efforts? that the victories of Germany are to be attributed to our victories in the Peninsula? That spark, often feeble, sometimes so nearly extinguished as to excite despair in all hearts that were not above it, which we lighted in Portugal, which was fed and nourished there, has at length burst into a flame that has dazzled and illuminated Europe. Shall it, then, be said that this struggle has had no effect upon the military character of Great Britain? At the commencement of this war, our Empire rested upon one majestic column, our naval power. In the prosecution of the war, a hero has raised another stupendous pillar of strength to support our monarchy, our military pre-eminence. It is now that we may boast not only of superiority at sea, but on shore: the same energy and heroism exists in both the arms of Great Britain—they are rivals in strength, but inseparable in glory.—*Speech in the House of Commons in 1813, on the victories of the Allies.*

#### RESULTS OF WELLINGTON'S VICTORIES

Gentlemen, I have said that I should be ashamed, and in truth I should be so, to address you in the language of exultation, if it were merely for the indulgence, however legitimate, of an exuberant and ungovernable joy. But they who have suffered great privations have a claim not merely to consolation, but to something more. They are justly to be compensated for what they have undergone, or lost, or hazarded, by the contemplation of what they have gained.

We have gained, then, a rank and authority in Europe, such as, for the life of the longest liver of those who now hear me, must place this country upon an eminence which no probable reverses can shake. We have gained, or rather we have recovered, a splendour of military glory, which places us by the side of the greatest military nations in the world. At the beginning of this war, while there was not a British bosom that did not beat with rapture at the exploits of our navy, there were few who would not have been contented to compromise for that reputation alone; to claim the sea as exclusively our province, and to leave to France and the other continental powers the struggle for superiority by land. That fabled deity, whom I see portrayed upon the wall,\* was considered as the exclusive patron of British powers in battle; but, in seeming accordance with the beautiful fiction of ancient mythology, our Neptune, in the heat of contest, smote the earth with his trident, and up sprang the fiery war-horse, the emblem of military power.

Let Portugal, now led to the pursuit of her flying conquerors—let liberated Spain—let France, invaded in her turn by those whom she had overrun or menaced with invasion, attest the triumphs of the army of Great Britain, and the equality of her military with her naval fame! And let those who, even after the triumphs of the Peninsula had begun, while they admitted that we had indeed wounded the giant in the heel, still deemed the rest of his huge frame invulnerable—let them now behold him reeling under the blows of united nations, and acknowledge, at once, the might of British arms and the force of British example!

Gentlemen, for twenty years that I have sat in Parliament, I have been an advocate of the war. You knew this when you did me the honour to choose

\* A figure of Neptune.

me as your representative. I then told you that I was the advocate of the war, because I was a lover of peace ; but of a peace that should be the fruit of honourable exertion ; a peace that should have a character of dignity, a peace that should be worth preserving, and should be likely to endure. I confess I was not sanguine enough, at that time, to hope that I should so soon have an opportunity of justifying my professions. But I know not why, six weeks hence, such a peace should not be made as England may not only be glad, but proud to ratify. Not such a peace, gentlemen, as that of Amiens—a short and feverish interval of unrefreshing repose. During that peace, which of you went, or sent a son to Paris, who did not feel or learn that an Englishman appeared, in France, shorn of the dignity of his country ; with the mien of a suppliant, and the conscious prostration of a man who had consented to purchase his gain or his ease by submission ? But let a peace be made to-morrow, such as the allies have now the power to dictate, and the meanest of the subjects of this kingdom shall not walk the streets of Paris without being pointed out as the compatriot of Wellington ; as one of that nation whose firmness and perseverance have humbled France and rescued Europe.

Is there any man, that has a heart in his bosom, who does not find, in the contemplation of this contrast alone, a recompense for the struggles and the sufferings of years ?—*Speech at Liverpool on Jan. 10th, 1814.*

#### BRITAIN AND PORTUGAL

Whether as a just and natural consequence of perseverance in a good cause, or whether by the special favour of Providence, true it is, in fact, that from this nook of Europe proceeded that impulse by which its mightiest kingdoms have been set free : true it is, that in this sterile and unpromising soil was deposited the seed of that security whose branches now overshadow mankind. From these recollections and associations the land in which we are assembled derives an animating and classic interest even in the eyes of the most indifferent observer. For my own part, I cannot view this city in which for so many months of horror and anxiety the hopes of Europe lay trembling for their doom—I could not traverse those mighty fastnesses of Nature which fence this capital, those bulwarks behind which victory herself retired to new plume her wings for a flight more soaring and more sustained—I could not contemplate those holy ruins amongst which I have been wandering, where an awful curiosity pauses to inquire whether the surrounding destruction has been wrought by ancient convulsions of Nature, or by the sportive sacrilege and barbarous malignity of the foe—I cannot behold the traces of desolation in this country, and of suffering among the people—without rendering a just homage to the character of the nation which by all that it has done, and more, by all that it has endured, has raised itself to a pitch of moral eminence so far beyond the proportion of its territory, population, or power.

I cannot consider all these things without blessing that wise and beneficent policy which brought England with timely speed to the aid of such a nation, to call forth its energies—to marshal its resources—to support and invigorate its unyielding constancy, and, after its own deliverance was achieved, to lead it forth in pursuit of its oppressor.

To have fought together in such a cause—to have mingled banners, and to have mingled blood, in battles of such interests, and leading to such results, must undoubtedly cement an eternal union between the British and Portuguese nations.—*Speech at Lisbon in 1815, at a Banquet given in his honour by the British residents.*

## CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

Ireland now sits in the representative assembly of the Empire ; and, when she is allowed to come there, why is she not also allowed to elect members for it, from her Catholic children ? For three centuries we have been erecting *mounds*, not to assist or improve, but to thwart nature : we have raised them high above the waters ; and they have stood for many a year, frowning proud defiance upon all who attempted to cross them ; but, in the course of ages, even they have been nearly broken down, and the narrow isthmus which they now form stands between two kindred seas ; the fountains see each other, and would fain meet. Shall we fortify the mounds which are now almost in ruins, or shall we leave them to moulder away by time or accident—an event which, though distant, must happen ; and which, when it does, will only confer a thankless favour ? Or shall we cut away at once the isthmus that remains, and float upon the mingling wave the ark of our common Constitution ?—*Speech in the House of Commons in 1820.*

## THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

I do verily and sincerely believe, that there is no proposition more false than that the influence of the Crown, any more than its direct power, has increased comparatively with the increasing strength, wealth, and population of the country. To these, if the Crown be good for anything at all in the Constitution, it is necessary that its power and influence should bear some reasonable proportion. I deny that in the House of Commons—I deny that in the House of Lords, such an increase can be shown ; but further I contend, that, in speculating upon the practical play of our Constitution, we narrow our view of its efficient principles, of its progress, and of the state in which it now stands, if we do not take into account other Powers, extrinsic to the two Houses of Parliament, which are at work in the moral and political world, and which require to be balanced and counterpoised in their operation.

What should we think of that philosopher who, in writing, at the present day, a treatise upon naval architecture and the theory of navigation, should omit wholly from his calculation that new and mighty power,—new, at least, in the application of its might—which walks the water, like a giant rejoicing in his course ;—stemming alike the tempest and the tide ;—accelerating intercourse, shortening distances ;—creating, as it were, unexpected neighbourhoods, and new combinations of social and commercial relation ;—and giving to the fickleness of winds and the faithlessness of waves the certainty and steadiness of a highway upon the land ? Such a writer, though he might describe a ship correctly ; though he might show from what quarters the winds of heaven blow, would be surely an incurious and an idle spectator of the progress of nautical science, who did not see in the power of steam a corrective of all former calculations. So, in political science, he who, speculating on the British Constitution, should content himself with marking the distribution of acknowledged technical powers between the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the Crown, and assigning to each their separate provinces—to the Lords their legislative authority—to the Crown its *veto* (how often used ?)—to the House of Commons its power of stopping supplies (how often, in fact, necessary to be resorted to ?)—and should think that he had thus described the British Constitution as it acts and as it is influenced in its action ; but should omit from his enumeration that mighty power of public



opinion, embodied in a free press, which pervades, and checks, and, perhaps, in the last resort, nearly governs the whole; such a man would, surely, give but an imperfect view of the Government of England as it is now modified, and would greatly underrate the counteracting influences against which that of the executive power has to contend.—*Speech at Liverpool in Aug., 1822.*

#### THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE

The resources created by peace are means of war; in cherishing those resources we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of our inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town is a proof they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness, how soon, upon any call of patriotism or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage; how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself, while, apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion. But God forbid that that occasion should arise! After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century, sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arranged at times against her, or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation; to cultivate the arts of peace; to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension and new spheres of employment; and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island. Of the blessings of peace, gentlemen, I trust that this borough, with which I have now the honour and happiness of being associated, will receive an ample share. I trust the time is not far distant when that noble structure, of which, as I learn from your recorder, the box with which you have honoured me through his hands formed a part, that gigantic barrier against the fury of the waves that roll into your harbour, will protect a commercial marine, not less considerable in its kind than the warlike marine of which your port has been long so distinguished an asylum; when the town of Plymouth will participate in the commercial prosperity as largely as it has hitherto done in the naval glories of England.—*Speech at Plymouth in Oct., 1823, on receiving the Freedom of the Town.*

#### DR. ANDREW THOMPSON, 1779–1881

A famous Scotch divine who took an active part in the agitation for the abolition of slavery in the Colonies.

#### SLAVERY

I HAVE no fear—no, not the shadow of it—that any of the dreaded mischiefs will ensue from the course of proceeding that we are pressing on the Legislature. In my conscience I deem them all chimerical, and got up chiefly for the purpose of deterring us from insisting on that act of simple but imperative justice which we call upon the British Parliament to perform.

But if you push me, and still urge the argument of insurrection and bloodshed, for which you are far more indebted to fancy than to fact, as I have shown you, then I say, be it so. I repeat that maxim, taken from a heathen book, but pervading the whole Book of God, "Fiat justitia—ruat cælum." Righteousness, Sir, is the pillar of the universe. Break down that pillar, and the universe falls into ruin and desolation. But preserve it, and though the fair fabric may sustain partial dilapidation, it may be rebuilt and repaired—it *will* be rebuilt and repaired, and restored to all its pristine strength, and magnificence, and beauty. If there must be violence, let it even come, for it will soon pass away—let it come and rage its little hour, since it is to be succeeded by lasting freedom, and prosperity and happiness. Give me the hurricane rather than the pestilence. Give me the hurricane, with its thunder, and its lightning, and its tempest; give me the hurricane, with its partial and temporary devastations, awful though they be; give me that hurricane, with its purifying, healthful, salutary effects; give me that hurricane, infinitely rather than the noisome pestilence, whose path is never crossed, whose silence is never disturbed, whose progress is never arrested, by one sweeping blast from the heavens; which walks peacefully and sullenly through the length and breadth of the land, breathing poison into every heart, and carrying havoc into every home, enervating all that is strong, defacing all that is beautiful, and casting its blight over the fairest and happiest scenes of human life—and which, from day to day, and from year to year, with intolerant and interminable malignity, sends its thousands and its tens of thousands of hapless victims into the ever-yawning and never-satisfied grave!

### WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, D.D., 1781-1842

An eminent American divine. Born at Newport, Rhode Island. The recognised leader of the American Church in his day.

#### NAPOLEON'S HATRED OF ENGLAND

WILL it be said that the conqueror has too much work at home to care for America? He has, indeed, work at home, but (unhappily for this country) that work ever brings us to his view. There is one work, one object, which is ever present to the mind of Napoleon. It mingles with all his thoughts. It is his dream by night, his cue by day. He did not forget it on the shores of the Baltic or the banks of the Danube. *The ruin of England* is the first, the most settled purpose of his heart. That nation is the only barrier to his ambition. In the opulence, the energy, the public spirit, the liberty of England, he sees the only obstacles to universal domination. England once fallen and the civilised world lies at his feet. England erect, and there is one asylum for virtue, magnanimity, freedom; one spark which may set the world on fire; one nation to encourage the disaffected to hold up to the oppressed the standard of revolt. England, therefore, is the object of the hostile fury of the French Emperor. England is the great end of his plans, and his plans of course embrace all nations which come in contact with England; which love or hate her, which can give her support or can contribute to her downfall. *We*, then (we may be assured), are not overlooked by Napoleon. We are a nation sprung from England. We have received from her our laws and many of our institutions. We speak her language, and in her language we dare to express the indignation which she feels at oppression.

Besides, we have other ties which connect us with England. We are a commercial people ; commercial by habit, commercial by our very situation. But no nation can be commercial without maintaining some connection with England, without having many common interests with her, without strengthening the foundations of her greatness. England is the great emporium of the world ; and the conqueror knows that it is only by extinguishing the commerce of the world, by bringing every commercial nation to bear his yoke that he can fix a mortal wound on England. Moreover, we are the neighbours of some of the most valuable English colonies, and can exert an important influence on those channels of her commerce, those sources of her opulence.

Can we, then, suppose that the ambitious, the keen-sighted Napoleon overlooks *us* in his schemes of universal conquest ; that he wants nothing of us, and is content that we should prosper and be at peace, because we are so distant from his throne ? Has he not already told us that we must embark in his cause ? Has he not already declared war for us against England ? Will it be said he wants not to conquer us, but only wishes us to be his allies ? *Allies of France !* Is there a man who does not shudder at the thought ? Is there one who had not rather struggle nobly, and perish under her open enmity, than be crushed by the embrace of her friendship—*her alliance* ? To show you the happiness of her alliance, I will not carry you back to Venice, Switzerland, Holland. Their expiring groans are almost forgotten amidst later outrages. Spain, Spain is the ally to whom I would direct you. Are you lovers of treachery, perfidy, rapacity, and massacre ? Then aspire after the honour which Spain has forfeited, and become the ally of France.

Let me here observe, that the contrast of England with France (in point of *morals* and *religion*) is one ground of hope (to the devout mind) in these dark and troubled times. On this subject I have heard but one opinion from *good* men who have visited the two countries. The character of England is to be estimated particularly from what may be called the *middle class* of society, the most numerous class of all nations, and more numerous and influential in England than in any other nation of Europe. The warm piety, the active benevolence, and the independent and manly thinking (which are found in this class) do encourage me in the belief that England will not be forsaken by God in her solemn struggle.

I feel myself bound to all nations by the ties of a common nature, a common Father, and a Common Saviour. But I feel a peculiar interest in England : for I believe that there Christianity is exerting its best influences on the human character ; that there the perfections of human nature (wisdom, virtue, and piety) are fostered by excellent institutions, and are producing the delightful fruits of domestic happiness, social order, and general prosperity. It is a hope (which I could not resign without anguish) that the prayers and alms of England “ will come up for a memorial before God, and will obtain for her His sure protection against the common enemy of the civilised world.”—*From the Sermon on the day of the Public Fast, April 5th, 1810.*

# EARL GREY, 1764-1845

Born at Falloden, near Alnwick, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Entered Parliament in 1786 in the Whig interest. He was one of the managers of the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, and on Fox's death assumed the leadership of the Whig party. He served as First Lord of the Admiralty and Foreign Secretary under Lord Grenville, and in 1830 he became Premier. His Ministry was made eventful by the carrying in 1832, after two unsuccessful attempts, of the great Reform Bill.

## PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

I HAVE been accused of using the language of intimidation. Such, my Lords, is not my intention; but surely it is not to threaten if I offer the advice which any honest counsellor would submit to the most absolute monarch, but there is no station, no rank, no dignity, no authority, no power, which can safely disregard public opinion. I counsel you not to yield to a temporary—a passing impulse, or to the impetuosity of unreflecting clamour. But I do counsel, nay, I entreat you, to consult the general feeling of the public, which, when strongly, when generally, and perseveringly, and uniformly expressed, as it has now been, upon any subject which they have had full opportunity to consider and to examine, is entitled to attention, and, let me add, to respect. Such an expression of public feeling will not, I trust, be met with a harsh rejection of the measure on which it is fixed, but with a kind, and—may I not say without offence—prudent consideration of that measure in a committee, where—the principle, to a greater or less extent, being almost universally admitted—its details may be fully canvassed and discussed. So let me entreat your Lordships to a compliance with the public and general desire; do not convert what is now suspended hope into absolute and irremediable despair.

I have throughout endeavoured not to say one word which could excite angry feelings, or add excitement to—I wish I could say—dying animosities. If I have done so, I disclaim it, as being most remote from my intention, and ask pardon for it. But let me entreat you well to weigh and to consider what may be the effect of a rejection of this bill. You have seen, and you have felt how much the public interests have been affected by the long-continued anxiety and suspense in which the public mind has been held—how much its commercial transactions, its domestic interests, its foreign relations, have all sustained injury, more or less. For this I maintain that the King's Ministers are not to blame; and I do not impute it as blame to those who have opposed them. It was, perhaps, the unavoidable consequence of conflicting opinions on a great measure of constitutional policy. But that these consequences have taken place is certain; and it must be equally the desire, as it is the interest of us all, to put an end to a state of things so embarrassing and so afflicting. You have now an opportunity of doing so, which, if lost, it may be difficult to recover. But if you reject the bill, what will be the consequence? Will the question be set at rest? The acknowledgment of all, even of those who have been most opposed to this bill, that a reform is necessary—still more, the undiminished force of public opinion—show this to be impossible. If this bill is not allowed to go into committee, another—let who will be Ministers—must be introduced. Then follows another period of suspense and agitation, exempt, I trust, from violence and tumult, but still most prejudicial to the interests and to the tranquillity of the country.

My Lords, I forbear to press further the consequences of a second rejection;

what I have said is enough to induce you to weigh well those which I have pointed out, which are sufficiently serious to demand the most anxious reflection. To the country, and to your Lordships, therefore, the result of this night is important in a degree scarcely paralleled in your records as a legislative assembly. To myself, everything depends upon it. I knew all the difficulties to which I exposed myself when I undertook this measure—a sense of the duty which I owed to my sovereign and my country commanded me to brave them.

Having introduced the measure, I have endeavoured to conduct it through the various embarrassments with which it was beset, with a steady adherence to its principles, and to the views upon which I had originally acted. I have been exposed to much injustice—to many, I will confidently say, undeserved attacks—to much misrepresentation; and, I must add, to much suspicion, from which I should have thought I might have been protected. But I have not been deterred from doing what I thought right, or allowed myself to be forced and driven into any measures, which, while a hope existed, I could not approve. I have felt, I say, the attacks to which I have been exposed, and I know what further I have to expect. In the event of its failure, a personal responsibility rests upon me, which, perhaps, never was before sustained by any former Minister. I may sink under it—that is nothing; I shall have the support of an approving conscience, which has always instructed me to do what is right, and to leave the consequences to God. What I pray for is, that I may be the only victim, and that the consequences of my failure may affect neither the prosperity nor the peace of my country, nor that union between your Lordships and the people on which the welfare of both—and what is necessary to the welfare of both, your Lordships' authority, and character, and usefulness—essentially depend. I now move that this bill be read a second time.—*From the Speech delivered in the House of Lords in 1831, in introducing the second Reform Bill.*

#### SYDNEY SMITH, 1771–1845

Divine, politician, and wit. A native of Woodford, in Essex; educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. After taking Holy Orders he was appointed to the curacy of Netheravon, Amesbury, Wiltshire. He was one of the contributors to the *Edinburgh Review* after its foundation, and by his writings gained considerable political prominence. Lord Erskine in 1806 gave him the incumbency of Foston-le-Clay, in Yorkshire, and in 1828 Lord Lyndhurst presented him to a stall in Bristol Cathedral. His appointment as a Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's Cathedral followed in 1831. His sermons bore evidence of deep thought, but he is best remembered by his pungent political essays and his witty sayings.

#### REJECTION OF THE REFORM BILL OF 1831

##### MRS. PARTINGTON'S MOP

I FEEL most deeply the event which has taken place, because, by putting the two Houses of Parliament in collision with each other, it will impede the public business, and diminish the public prosperity. I feel it as a churchman, because I cannot but blush to see so many dignitaries of the Church arrayed against the wishes and happiness of the people. I feel it more than all, because I believe it will sow the seeds of deadly hatred between the aristocracy and the great mass of the people. The loss of the bill I do not feel, and for the best of all possible reasons—because I have not the slightest idea that it *is* lost. I have no more doubt, before the expiration of the winter, that this bill will pass, than I have that the annual tax bills will pass, and greater certainty than this no man can

have, for Franklin tells us there are but two things certain in this world—death and taxes. As for the possibility of the House of Lords preventing ere long a reform of Parliament, I hold it to be the most absurd notion that ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful, but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824 there set in a great flood upon that town—the tide rose to an incredible height—the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction! In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Danie Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house, with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea-water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop, or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease—be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington.

They tell you, gentlemen, in the debates by which we have been recently occupied, that the bill is not justified by experience. I do not think this true; but, if it were true, nations are sometimes compelled to act without experience for their guide, and to trust to their own sagacity for the anticipation of consequences. The instances where this country has been compelled thus to act have been so eminently successful that I see no cause for fear, even if we were acting in the manner imputed to us by our enemies. What precedents and what experience were there at the Reformation, when the country, with one unanimous effort, pushed out the pope and his grasping and ambitious clergy? What experience, when, at the Revolution, we drove away our ancient race of kings, and chose another family, more congenial to our free principles? And yet to those two events, contrary to experience, and unguided by precedents, we owe all our domestic happiness and civil and religious freedom—and having got rid of corrupt priests and despotic kings by our sense and our courage, are we now to be intimidated by the awful danger of extinguishing boroughmongers, and shaking from our necks the ignominious yoke which their baseness has imposed upon it? Go on, they say, as you have done for these three hundred years last past. I answer, it is impossible; five hundred people now write and read where one hundred wrote and read fifty years ago. The iniquities and enormities of the borough system are now known to the meanest of the people. You have a different sort of men to deal with—you must change, because the beings whom you govern are changed. After all, and to be short, I must say that it has always appeared to me to be the most absolute nonsense that we cannot be a great, or a rich and happy nation, without suffering ourselves to be bought and sold every five years like a pack of negro slaves. I hope I am not a very rash man, but I would launch boldly into this experiment without any fear of consequences, and I believe there is not a man here present who would not cheerfully embark with me. As to the enemies of the bill who pretend to be reformers, I know them, I believe, better than you do, and I earnestly caution you against them. You will have no more of reform than they are compelled to grant—you will have no reform at all, if they can avoid it—you will be hurried into a war to turn your attention from reform. They do not understand you—they will not believe in the improvement you have made—they think the English of the present day are as the English of the times of Queen Anne or George I. They know no more of the present state of their own country than of the state of the Esquimaux Indians. Gentlemen,

I view their ignorance of the present state of the country with the most serious concern, and I believe they will one day or another waken into conviction with horror and dismay. I will omit no means of rousing them to a sense of their danger.—*Speech at Taunton in 1831 during the agitation which followed the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords.*

#### DANIEL O'CONNELL, 1775–1847

'The Liberator.' Born and educated in Ireland, O'Connell in 1794 entered himself at Lincoln's Inn, and four years afterwards was called to the Bar. Elected in 1828 as member for County Clare, he rapidly made his mark. But it was Ireland that was the scene of his most memorable political achievements. Heading an agitation there for the Repeal of the Union, he wielded enormous influence over the people. The movement assumed such dimensions that the Government at length were driven to prosecute O'Connell. He was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for a year, with a fine of £2000. The House of Lords quashed the conviction. The great exertions made by the Liberator in conducting the agitation undermined his constitution, and he died at Genoa while on his way to Rome.

#### SLAVERY

No man can more sincerely abhor, detest, and abjure slavery than I do. I hold it in utter detestation, however men may attempt to palliate or excuse it by differences of colour, creed, or clime. In all its gradations, and in every form, I am its mortal foe. The speech of an opponent on this question has filled me with indignation. "What," said this party, "would you come in between a man and his freehold!" I started as if something unholy had trampled on my father's grave, and I exclaimed with horror, "A freehold in a human being!" I know nothing of this individual; I give him credit for being a gentleman of humanity; but, if he be so, it only makes the case the stronger; for the circumstance of such a man upholding such a system shows the horrors of that system in itself and its effect in deceiving the minds of those who are connected with it, wherever it exists. We are told that the slave is *not fit* to receive his freedom—that he could not endure freedom without revolting. Why does he not endure slavery without revolting? With all that he has to bear, he does not revolt now; and will he be more ready to revolt when you take away the lash? Foolish argument!

But I will take them upon their own ground—the ground of *gradual* amelioration and preparation. Well: are not eight years of education sufficient to prepare a man for anything? Seven years are accounted quite sufficient for an apprenticeship to any profession, or for any art or science; and are not eight years enough for the negro? If eight years have passed away without preparation, so would eighty, if we were to allow them so many. There is a time for everything—but it would seem there is no time for the emancipation of the slave. Mr. Buxton most ably and unanswerably stated to the House of Commons the awful decrease in population; that, in fourteen colonies, in the course of ten years, there had been a decrease in the population of 145,801—that is, in other words, 145,801 human beings had been murdered by this system—their bodies gone to the grave—their spirits before their God. In the eight years that they have had to educate their slaves for liberty, but which have been useless to them—in those eight years, one-twelfth have gone into the grave murdered! Every day ten victims are thus despatched! While we are speaking, they are sinking; while we are debating, they are dying! As human, as accountable beings, why should we suffer this any longer? Let every man take his own share in this business. I am resolved, if sent back to Parliament, that I will bear my part. I purpose fully

to divide the House on the motion, that every negro child born after the first of January, 1832, shall be free. They say, "Oh, do not emancipate the slaves suddenly; they are not prepared, they will revolt!" Are they afraid of the insurrection of the infants? Or, do you think that the mother will rise up in rebellion as she hugs her little freeman to her breast, and thinks that he will one day become her protector? Or, will she teach him to be her avenger? Oh, no! there can be no such pretence. . . .

I will carry with me to my own country the recollection of this splendid scene. Where is the man that can resist the argument of this day? I go to my native land under its influence; and let me remind you that land has its glory, that no slave ship was ever launched from any of its numerous ports. I will gladly join any party to do good to the poor negro slaves. Let each extend to them the arm of his compassion; let each aim to deliver his fellow-man from distress. I shall go and tell my countrymen that they must be first in this race of humanity. —*Speech in the House of Commons in 1831.*

#### IRISH COERCION

I do not rise to fawn or cringe to this House; I do not rise to supplicate you to be merciful towards the nation to which I belong—towards a nation which, though subject to England, yet is distinct from it. It is a distinct nation; it has been treated as such by this country, as may be proved by history, and by seven hundred years of tyranny. I call upon this House, as you value the liberty of England, not to allow the present nefarious bill to pass. In it are involved the liberties of England, the liberty of the press, and of every other institution dear to Englishmen.

Against the bill\* I protest in the name of the Irish people, and in the face of heaven. I treat with scorn the puny and pitiful assertions that grievances are not to be complained of, that our redress is not to be agitated; for, in such cases, remonstrances cannot be too strong, agitation cannot be too violent, to show to the world with what injustice our fair claims are met, and under what tyranny the people suffer.

There are two frightful clauses in this bill. The one which does away with trial by jury, and which I have called upon you to baptize; you call it a *court-martial*—a mere nickname; I stigmatise it as a *revolutionary tribunal*. What, in the name of heaven, is it, if it is not a revolutionary tribunal? It annihilates the trial by jury: it drives the judge off his bench—the man who, from experience, could weigh the nice and delicate points of a case—who could discriminate between the straightforward testimony and the suborned evidence—who could see, plainly and readily, the justice or injustice of the accusation. It turns out this man who is free, unshackled, unprejudiced—who has no previous opinions to control the clear exercise of his duty. You do away with that which is more sacred than the throne itself; that for which your King reigns, your Lords deliberate, your Commons assemble.

If ever I doubted before of the success of our agitation for repeal, this bill, this infamous bill, the way in which it has been received by the House, the manner in which its opponents have been treated, the personalities to which they have been subjected, the yells with which one of them has this night been greeted—all these things dissipate my doubts, and tell me of its complete and early triumph.

\* The Irish Disturbances Bill, 1833.



Do you think those yells will be forgotten? Do you suppose their echo will not reach the plains of my injured and insulted country; that they will not be whispered in her green valleys, and heard from her lofty hills? Oh! they will be heard there; yes, and they will not be forgotten. The youth of Ireland will bound with indignation; they will say, "We are eight millions, and you treat us thus, as though we were no more to your country than the Isle of Guernsey or Jersey!"

I have done my duty; I stand acquitted to my conscience and my country; I have opposed this measure throughout; and I now protest against it as harsh, oppressive, uncalled for, unjust, as establishing an infamous precedent by retaliating crime against crime—as tyrannous, cruelly and vindictively tyrannous.—*Speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1833.*

### THOMAS CHALMERS, 1780–1847

Eminent Scottish divine. Born at Anstruther, in the county of Fife. Educated at St. Andrews. Ordained minister of Kilmany in 1803. He removed in 1815 to Glasgow, and there won great fame as an orator and preacher. In 1823 he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in the United College, and five years later he was chosen Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University. This post he held until his death.

#### THE FLIGHT OF TIME

WHERE are the men of the generation that is past? They, like ourselves, were eager in the pursuit of this world's phantoms, active in business, intent on the speculations of policy and state, led astray by the glitter of ambition, and devoted to the joys of sense or of sentiment. Where are the men who, a few years ago, gave motion and activity to this busy theatre? Where those husbandmen who lived on the ground that you now occupy? Where those labouring poor who dwelt in your houses and villages? Where those ministers who preached the lessons of piety and talked of the vanity of the world? Where those people who, on the Sabbaths of other times, assembled at the sound of the church bell, and filled the house, by the walls of which you are now congregated? Their habitation is the cold grave—the land of forgetfulness and silence. Their name is forgotten in the earth, their very children have lost the remembrance of them. The labours of their hands are covered with moss, or destroyed by the injuries of time. And we are the children of these fathers, and heirs to the same awful and stupendous destiny. The time in which I live is but a small amount of this world's history. It is the flight of a shadow; it is a dream of vanity; it is the rapid glance of a meteor; it is a flower which every breath of heaven can wither into decay; it is a tale which as a remembrance vanishes; it is a day which the silence of a long night will darken and overshadow. In a few years our heads will be laid in the cold grave, and the green turf will cover us; the children who come after us will tread upon our graves; they will weep for us a few days; they will talk of us for a few months; they will remember us for a few years; then our memory shall disappear from the face of the earth, and not a tongue shall be found to recall it.

It strikes me as the most impressive of all sentiments that "it will be all the same a hundred years after this." It is often uttered in the form of a proverb, and with the levity of a mind that is not aware of its importance. A hundred years after this! Good heavens! with what speed and with what certainty

will those hundred years come to their termination. This day will draw to a close, and a number of days make up a revolution of the seasons. Year follows year, and a number of years make up a century. These little intervals of time accumulate and fill up that mighty space which appears to the fancy so big and immeasurable. The hundred years will come, and they will see out the wreck of whole generations. Every living thing that now moves on the face of the earth will disappear from it. The infant that now hangs on its mother's bosom will only live in the remembrance of its grandchildren. The scene of life and of intelligence that is now before me will be changed into the dark and loathsome forms of corruption. The people who now hear me, they will cease to be spoken of; their memory will perish from the face of the country; their flesh will be devoured by worms; the dark and creeping things that live in the holes of the earth will feed upon their bodies; their coffins will have mouldered away, and their bones be thrown up in the new-made grave. And is this the consummation of all things? Is this the final end and issue of man? Is this the upshot of his busy history? Is there nothing beyond time and the grave to alleviate the gloomy picture, to chase away these dismal images? Must we sleep for ever in the dust, and bid an eternal adieu to the light of heaven?

### SIR ROBERT PEEL, 1788-1850

Statesman. Born near Bury, in Lancashire. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, he entered Parliament in 1809 as member for Cashel. In 1812 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland. His subsequent official career brought him into association with nearly every important position in the Ministry. He attained to the supreme position in 1834, and twice subsequently—in 1839 and 1841—was entrusted with the formation of Administrations. The greatest of his achievements was the passing, in 1846, of the measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws. He will also be long remembered as the founder of the Metropolitan Police Force. He died on July 2nd, 1850, from the effects of a fall from his horse while riding on Constitution Hill four days previously.

#### DEFENCE OF HIS POLICY

NOTWITHSTANDING all the ominous predictions of our inability to carry on the Government, I own to you that I do entertain the greatest confidence that those predictions will not be verified—and that the representatives of the country will not refuse to give to the King's Ministers a FAIR TRIAL. A few weeks only can elapse before the experiment will be made. I am not alarmed at the lists that are published, dividing the Members of Parliament into "Conservatives" and "Reformers." I cannot but think that many of those who are classed as reformers entertain opinions not far different from my own; and every hour that passes will, I doubt not, increase the disposition to take a calmer view of the principles upon which we propose to act. If the public and the representatives of this country are convinced that we are desirous of maintaining our national institutions, and of improving them, with a view to their maintenance, I do not believe that they will lend themselves to any factious opposition to the King's Government. The people of England are anxious, I believe, to preserve, in their full integrity, the prerogatives of their ancient monarchy. They are anxious to maintain the free and independent action of every branch of the Legislature; they are anxious to maintain the Church and its connection with the State, less for any civil or secular object than because they believe the maintenance of the Established Church to be the best security for the maintenance of that faith

which they profess, and the surest bulwark against infidelity on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other. They will support the Church on high grounds of religious feeling and principle, in which even many, who do not conform to all the doctrines of the Church, may cordially and zealously concur. This object I, for one, am determined to maintain. But it is quite consistent with that object to relieve any real grievance, and to remove any civil disadvantage under which those who do not concur in the doctrines of the Established Church may labour. My opinion is that, with that course, coupled with a sincere desire to promote rational and well-matured improvement, the people of England will be content ; nay more, that of that course they will cordially approve.

As for myself, whatever may be the result, I regard it without any feelings of anxiety or apprehension ; I have no object of personal ambition to gratify, and, whatever else I may lose, I cannot lose the consolation of having acted on a sense of public duty at a period of great difficulty. If I succeed, I shall have the satisfaction of thinking that I have succeeded against great obstacles and amid the most confident predictions of failure. I BELIEVE THAT I SHALL SUCCEED. I have that confidence in a good cause, I have that confidence in the success of good intentions, that I believe that a majority of the representatives of England will be satisfied with the measures which I shall propose, and that they will lend their support and co-operation in carrying them into effect. But, gentlemen, if I am mistaken : if, after having exerted myself to the utmost in that great cause in which I am engaged ; if, having nothing to upbraid myself with, I shall nevertheless fail, then, I do assure you, so far as my personal feelings are concerned, I shall relinquish the powers, emoluments, and distinctions of office with any feelings rather than those of mortification and regret. I shall find ample compensation for the loss of office ; I shall return to pursuits quite as congenial to my taste and feelings as the cares and labours of office ; I shall feel the full force of the sentiments which are applied by the poet to the hardy natives of the Alpine regions :

As the loud torrent and the whirlwind's roar,  
But bind him to his native mountains more !

so shall I feel that the angry contentions and collisions of political life will but bind me the more to this place, not, indeed, the place of my nativity, but dearer to me than the place of my nativity—by every early recollection and association, and by the formation of those first friendships which have remained uninterrupted to this hour. I shall return hither to do what good I can in a more limited sphere, and with humbler powers of action to encourage local improvement, to enjoy the opportunities of friendly intercourse, and to unite with you in promoting good-fellowship, and a spirit of conciliation and mutual good-will in that society, to the bosom of which I shall return.—*Speech at Tamworth, June 11th, 1835.*

#### DENUNCIATION OF COBBETT\*

It is on public grounds that the honourable member assails me. The honourable member has not the same motives for attacking me which he had for attacking others. I have never lent the honourable member my confidence ; from me the

\* This outburst of invective was excited by a speech made by Cobbett in support of a motion praying the King to dismiss Sir Robert Peel from his Privy Council as the author of the Bill of 1819, which had been the cause of distress in the country. Such was the effect of Peel's oratory that only four members supported Cobbett in the division on the motion, and that a resolution was subsequently carried with only four dissentients directing that the resolution should be expunged from the Journals of the House.

honourable member has never received any obligation. His object in resenting me is, doubtless, to strike terror by the threat of his denunciations—to discourage opposition from a fear of being signalised as a victim. But I tell the gentlemen of England that their best security is in boldly facing and defying such insidious efforts. God forbid that the honourable member's speculations on the prospect of public confusion should be realised. I labour under no anxiety that they will. I feel confident that whatever may be the political differences that divide public men, all who are interested in the upholding of law and property will unite in their defence to put down such attempts. Not only would it be the bitterest calamity, but a calamity embittered by the greatest disgrace, to live under such an ignoble tyranny as he would impose.

Come the eleventh plague rather than this should be ;  
 Come sink us rather in the sea ;  
 Come, rather, pestilence, and reap us down ;  
 Come God's sword rather than our own.  
 Let, rather, Roman come again,  
 Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane.  
 In all the bonds we ever bore,  
 We grieved, we sighed, we wept—we never blushed before.

Blush, indeed, we shall, if we submit to this base and vulgar domination, and I for one—believing as I do that I have been selected as an object of attack, for the purpose of discouraging resistance to the insidious efforts which the honourable gentleman is daily making to weaken the foundations of property and the authority of the law—I will at least preserve myself from the reproach of having furthered the objects he has in view by any symptoms of intimidation or submission.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons in 1833.*

#### ON RESIGNING OFFICE

Within a few hours, probably, that power which I have held for the period of five years will be surrendered into the hands of another—without repining, without complaint on my part—with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence I have received during several years than of the opposition which during a recent period I have encountered. In relinquishing power, I shall leave a name severely censured, I fear, by many who, on public grounds, deeply regret the severance of party ties—deeply regret that severance, not from interested or personal motives, but from the firm conviction that fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—constitutes a powerful instrument of Government. I shall surrender power severely censured also by others who, from no interested motive, adhere to the principle of Protection, considering the maintenance of it to be essential to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honourable motives, clamours for Protection because it conduces to his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on June 29th, 1846, announcing the resignation of the Ministry.*

## RICHARD LALOR SHIEL, 1794-1851

Irish orator. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and Stonyhurst. Called to the Irish Bar in 1814, and subsequently entered Parliament as member for Milbourne Port. Distinguished himself by his eloquent advocacy of the Irish cause. He was made a Queen's Counsel and Privy Councillor, and filled in succession various ministerial offices. He died at Florence, where he was acting as Minister Plenipotentiary.

## COMRADES IN ARMS

WHERE was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, when these words\* were uttered? Methinks he should have started up to disclaim them.

"The battles, sieges, fortunes, that he'd passed" ought to have come back upon him. He ought to have remembered that, from the earliest achievement on which he displayed that military genius which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable—from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies were filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the athletic arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? What desperate valour climbed the steeps, and filled the moats of Badajos? All, all his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory—Vimiera, Badajos, Salamanca, Albuera, Toulouse—and, last of all, the greatest. Tell me, for you were there. I appeal to the gallant soldier before me (pointing to Sir Henry Hardinge), who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast—tell me, for you must needs remember, on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, while death fell in showers upon them; when the artillery of France levelled with the precision of the most deadly science played upon them; when her legions, incited by the voice, inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the contest, tell me, if for an instant (when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost) the "aliens" blanched? And when at length the moment for the last decisive movement had arrived; when the valour, so long wisely checked, was at last let loose; when, with words familiar, but immortal the great captain exclaimed, "Up, lads, and at them!"—tell me if Catholic Ireland with less heroic valour than the natives of your own glorious isle precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland flowed in the same stream, on the same field; when the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together; in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited; the green arm of spring is now breaking on their commingled dust; the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril, in the glory shall we not participate? And shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?—  
*From a Speech in the House of Commons in 1837.*

\* Lord Lyndhurst, in a speech made in the House of Lords just previously, had stated that the Irish were "aliens in blood and religion." It was this allegation that excited Shiel's splendid outburst of eloquence. "The effect produced by this passage (says Francis in his "Orators of the Age") will not be easily forgotten. The passionate vehemence of the speaker and the mournful music of his voice were a living echo to the deep emotions with which his soul seemed charged."

## JEWISH DISABILITIES

There have been repeated references in this House to the author of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," but I think that a name still more illustrious might have been cited. Was not Bolingbroke, the fatally accomplished Bolingbroke, to whose genius were offered tributes amounting almost to idolatrous veneration—was not Bolingbroke, who united to external accomplishment high intellectual endowments, and whose intercourse in private life exercised a species of fascination on all who had the misfortune to approach him—was not Bolingbroke, the infidel Bolingbroke, a member of this House? Was he stopped by the test which arrested the Jew? Did he not, on the contrary, tread upon it, and mount to the height of power, and become a confidential adviser of the Sovereign? Is it not preposterous that a man by whom revelation was rejected, who doubted the immortality of the soul, who doubted a future state of reward and punishment, who doubted eternity and Providence, who believed nothing, who feared nothing, who hoped for nothing, who laid no restraint upon his depravity, who had no incentive to virtue beyond such natural promptings as God may have given him—is it not monstrous that such a fiend should find his way into the House of Commons and climb to the pinnacle of power, and that you should slap the door with indignation in the face of one honourable and conscientious man, who adheres to the religion in which he was born and bred—of a man who believes in the facts which constitute the foundation of Christianity, who believes in the existence of the noble part of our being, who believes in the mercies of God and who practises humanity to man, who believes in the ten great injunctions on which all morality is based, whose ear is never deaf to the supplications of the suffering, whose hand is as open as day to melting charity, and whose life, perhaps, presents a better exemplification of the precepts of the Gospel than any of those men for the sake of whose Christian religion the dishonouring disabilities are injuriously maintained.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons in 1848, on the Bill for the Removal of Jewish Disabilities.*

## ALIENATED IRELAND

Englishmen, look at Ireland! what do you behold?—a beautiful country with wonderful agricultural and commercial advantages—the link between America and Europe—the natural resting-place of trade on its way to either hemisphere; indented with havens, watered by deep and numerous rivers, with a fortunate climate, and a soil teeming with easy fertility, and inhabited by a bold, intrepid, and—with all their faults—a generous and enthusiastic people.

Such is natural Ireland; what is artificial Ireland? Such is Ireland as God made her; what is Ireland as England made her?

This fine country is laden with a population the most miserable in Europe. Your domestic swine are better housed than the people. Harvests, the most abundant, are reaped by men with starvation in their faces; famine covers a fruitful soil; and disease inhales a pure atmosphere; all the great commercial facilities of the country are lost; the deep rivers, that should circulate opulence, and turn the machinery of a thousand manufactures, flow to the ocean without wafting a boat or turning a wheel, and the wave breaks in solitude in the silent magnificence of deserted and shipless harbours.

Instead of being a source of wealth and revenue to the Empire, Ireland cannot defray her own expenses, or pay a single tax. Instead of being a bulwark and

fortress, she debilitates, exhausts, and endangers England, and offers an allure-ment to the speculators in universal ruin.

The great mass of her enormous population is alienated and dissociated from the State ; the influence of the constituted and legitimate authorities is gone ; a strange, anomalous, and unexampled kind of government has sprung up from the public passions, and exercises a despotic sway over the great mass of the community ; while the class inferior in numbers, but accustomed to authority, and infuriated at its loss, are thrown into formidable reaction. The most ferocious passions rage from one extremity of the country to the other. Hundreds and thousands of men, arrayed with badges, gather in the south ; and the smaller factions, with discipline and arms, are marshalled in the north. The country is strewn with the materials of civil commotion, and seems like one vast magazine of powder, which a spark might ignite into an explosion that would shake the whole fabric of civil society into ruin, and of which England would perhaps never recover the shock.

#### LORD PLUNKET, 1764-1854

Born at Enniskillen, and sat in the Irish Parliament as member for Charlemont. He strenuously opposed the union with England. After the abolition of the Irish Parliament he practised at the Bar, and became successively Solicitor-General and Attorney-General for Ireland. In the former capacity he conducted the prosecution against Emmett. In 1812 he entered the Imperial Parliament as member for the Dublin University, and continued an active member of the popular chamber until 1827, when he was raised to the peerage and appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland. Three years later he became Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He occupied that office until 1841. He was noted for his oratorical powers.

#### THE PROSECUTION OF EMMETT

LIBERTY and equality are dangerous names to make use of ; if properly understood, they mean enjoyment of personal freedom under the equal protection of the laws ; and a genuine love of liberty inculcates a friendship for our friends, our King, and country—a reverence for their lives, an anxiety for their safety ; a feeling which advances from private to public life, until it expands and swells into the more dignified name of philanthropy and philosophy. But in the cant of modern philosophy these affections, which form the ennobling distinctions of man's nature, are all thrown aside ; all the vices of his character are made the instrument of moral good—an abstract quantity of vice may produce a certain quantity of moral good. In a man whose principles are thus poisoned and his judgment perverted, the most flagitious crimes lose their names, robbery and murder become moral good. He is taught not to startle at putting to death a fellow-creature, if it be represented as a mode of contributing to the good of all. In pursuit of those phantoms and chimeras of the brain, they abolish feelings and instincts which God and Nature have planted in our hearts for the good of human kind. Thus, by the printed plan for the establishment of liberty and a free republic, murder is prohibited and proscribed ; and yet you heard how this caution against excesses was followed up by the recital of every grievance that ever existed, and which could excite every bad feeling of the heart, the most vengeful cruelty and insatiate thirst of blood.

Gentlemen, I am anxious to suppose that the mind of the prisoner recoiled at the scenes of murder which he witnessed, and I mention one circumstance with satisfaction—it appears he saved the life of Farrell ; and may the recollection of

that one good action cheer him in his last moments ! But, though he may not have planned individual murders, there is no excuse to justify his embarking in treason which must be followed by every species of crimes. It is supported by the rabble of the country, while the rank, the wealth, and the power of the country are opposed to it. Let loose the rabble of the country from the salutary restraints of the law, and who can take upon him to limit their barbarities ? Who can say he will disturb the peace of the world, and rule it when wildest ? Let loose the winds of heaven, and what power less than omnipotent can control them ? So it is with the rabble ; let them loose, and who can restrain them ? What claim, then, can the prisoner have upon the compassion of a jury, because, in the general destruction which his schemes necessarily produce, he did not meditate individual murder ? In the short space of a quarter of an hour, what a scene of blood and horror was exhibited ! I trust that the blood which has been shed in the streets of Dublin upon that night, and since upon the scaffold, and which may hereafter be shed, will not be visited upon the head of the prisoner. It is not for me to say what are the limits of the mercy of God, or what a sincere repentance of those crimes may effect ; but I do say, that if this unfortunate young gentleman retains any of the seeds of humanity in his heart, or possesses any of those qualities which a virtuous education in a liberal seminary must have planted in his bosom, he will make an atonement to his God and his country, by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes. Much blood has been shed, and he perhaps would have been immolated by his followers if he had succeeded. They are a bloodthirsty crew, incapable of listening to the voice of reason, and equally incapable of obtaining rational freedom, if it were wanting in this country, as they are of enjoying it. They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country, and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause, as it is just ! but, as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I most devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it.—*From the Address made as Prosecuting Counsel in the charge of High Treason brought against Robert Emmett.*

#### UNION WITH ENGLAND

The two Parliaments may clash ! So in Great Britain may King and Parliament ; but we see they never do so injuriously. There are principles of repulsion—yes ; but there are principles of attraction, and from those the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of Nature, who should say there is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and, therefore, lest we should be hurried into the void of space, we ought to rush into the centre to be consumed there. No ! I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensations of the Almighty, there are impulses from whose wholesome opposition eternal wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere and at our proper distance. So I say to the political visionary, from the opposite forces which you object to, I see the wholesome law of Imperial connection derived ; I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat, and light, and life, and health, and vigour ; and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are passed, in preference to the speculations of any modern philosopher.—*From a Speech in the Irish House of Commons in opposition to the proposal for a Union with England.*



## THE ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD

Backed by the memories of the great lights and ornaments of the late reign—of Dunning, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and Windham—backed, I say, by the name of every man who possessed buoyancy enough to float down the stream of time, I feel that I have made out, I had almost said that I had established, the position that I sought, triumphantly. But when I look around me, and reflect on those whom I miss, and who were present when I last had the honour of addressing the House on this question, I am checked. When I reflect that since that period we have lost Whitbread, the incorruptible sentinel of the Constitution, that we have lost the aid of the more than dawning virtues of Horner, that we had then Romilly, whose mature excellencies shed a steady light on his profession, on his country, and his nature; that Elliott, the pure model of aristocracy, that the illustrious Ponsonby, the constitutional leader of the ranks of Opposition in this House, revering alike the privileges of the Crown and the rights of the subject—are no more; but, above all, when I dwell on that last overwhelming loss, the loss of that great man (Henry Grattan) in whose place I this night unworthily stand, and with the description of whose exalted merits I would not trust myself—God knows, I cannot feel anything like triumph. Walking before the sacred images of these illustrious dead, as in a public and solemn procession, shall we not dismiss all party feeling, all angry passions and unworthy prejudices?—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 28th, 1821, on the motion for a Committee on the Roman Catholic claims.*

## LORD PALMERSTON, 1784–1865

Statesman. Born at Westminster, and educated at Harrow, Edinburgh, and St. John's College, Cambridge. After two unsuccessful attempts he entered Parliament in 1807, as member for Newport, in the Isle of Wight. In 1811 he was chosen for the Cambridge University, and was connected with that constituency for twenty years. He was appointed by the Hon. Spencer Perceval Secretary for War in 1809, and held office uninterruptedly until 1828. On the formation of a Whig Ministry in 1830 he became Foreign Secretary. From this period to the end of his life he was intimately associated with foreign affairs. He succeeded Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister in 1855, and, save during the short period of the Derby Administration, remained at the head of affairs until his death. He did not particularly shine as an orator, but he was the master of vigorous English which he used at times with great effect.

## CIVIS ROMANUS SUM\*

I BELIEVE that the principles on which we have acted are those which are held by the great mass of the people of this country. I am convinced these principles are calculated, so far as the influence of England may properly be exercised with respect to the destinies of other countries, to conduce to the maintenance of peace, to the advancement of civilisation, and to the welfare and happiness of mankind.

I do not complain of the conduct of those who have made these matters the means of attack upon her Majesty's Ministers. The Government of a great

\* This, perhaps the best known passage in Lord Palmerston's speeches, is the concluding portion of a great oration, delivered in the House of Commons on a vote of want of confidence in the foreign policy of Lord John Russell's Government. Lord Palmerston spoke for five hours, his speech being one of the longest as well as the greatest ever delivered in the House of Commons. Sir Robert Peel in the subsequent debate, referring to Lord Palmerston, said, amid general cheers: "His speech made us all proud of the man who delivered it"—a compliment which was the more marked as the speaker was opposed to Lord Palmerston's policy.

country like this is undoubtedly an object of fair and legitimate ambition to men of all shades of opinion. It is a noble thing to be allowed to guide the policy and to influence the destinies of such a country, and if ever it was an object of honourable ambition, more than ever must it be so at the moment at which I am speaking. For while we have seen, as stated by the right honourable baronet the member for Ripon [Sir James Graham], the political earthquake rocking Europe from side to side—while we have seen thrones shaken, shattered, levelled; institutions overthrown and destroyed—while, in almost every country of Europe, the conflict of civil war has deluged the land with blood, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean; this country has presented a spectacle honourable to the people of England, and worthy of the admiration of mankind.

We have shown that liberty is compatible with order; that individual liberty is reconcilable with obedience to the law. We have shown the example of a nation, in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned to it; while at the same time every individual of each class is constantly striving to raise himself in the social scale—not by injustice and wrong, not by violence and illegality, but by persevering good conduct, and by the steady and energetic exertion of the moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has endowed him. To govern such a people as this is indeed an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest man who lives in the land; and, therefore, I find no fault with those who may think any opportunity a fair one for endeavouring to place themselves in so distinguished and honourable a position. But I contend that we have not in our foreign policy done anything to forfeit the confidence of the country. We may not, perhaps, in this matter or in that, have acted precisely up to the opinions of one person or of another—and hard indeed it is, as we all know by our individual and private experience, to find any number of men agreeing entirely in any matter, on which they may not be equally possessed of the details of the facts, and circumstances, and reasons, and conditions which led them to action. But, making allowance for those differences of opinion which may fairly and honourably rise amongst those who concur in general views, I maintain that the principles which can be traced through all our foreign transactions, as the guiding rule and directing spirit of our proceedings, are such as deserve approbation. I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this House, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it; whether the principles on which the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman, in days of old, held himself free from indignity, when he could say, *Civis Romanus sum*; so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on June 25th, 1850.*

## LORD BROUGHAM, 1778-1868

Lord Chancellor. Born and educated in Edinburgh, Brougham in 1800 passed as an advocate in the Scotch Law Courts. His literary talents early brought him into association with Jeffrey, and his aid was enlisted in the production of the *Edinburgh Review*, to the early numbers of which he contributed many articles. Proceeding south in 1803, he entered at Lincoln's Inn, and qualified himself for the distinguished position he subsequently occupied at the English Bar. He entered Parliament in 1810 as member for Carmelford. As Attorney-General to Queen Caroline he conducted the Royal lady's defence in the House of Lords. He was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1830, and was created Baron Brougham and Vaux. His tenure of office was marked by his vehement advocacy of reform. On the downfall of the Whig Ministry in Nov., 1834, he relinquished the seals, and, much to his disappointment, they were not restored to him when his party returned to power in the following year. The latter part of his long life was spent mainly in the promotion of educational movements. He was mainly instrumental in founding the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the London University College Hospital, and the Social Science Association. His address as President of the last-named organisation at the age of eighty-five was an oratorical *tour de force*. He died at Cannes, where he owned an estate.

## DEFENCE OF QUEEN CAROLINE\*

SUCH, then, my Lords, is this case. And let me again call on your Lordships, even at the risk of repetition, never to dismiss for a moment from your minds the two great points upon which rests my attack upon the evidence; first, that they have not proved the facts by the good witnesses within their reach, whom they have no shadow of pretext for not calling; and secondly, that the witnesses whom they have ventured to call are, every one of them, injured in their credit. How, I again ask, my Lords, is a plot ever to be discovered, except by the means of these two principles? Nay, there are instances in which plots have been discovered, through the medium of the second principle, when the first had happened to fail. When venerable witnesses have been seen to be brought forward, when persons above all suspicion have lent themselves, for a season, to impure plans, when nothing seemed possible, when no resource for the guiltless seemed open—they have almost providentially escaped from the snare by the second of these principles; by the evidence breaking down where it was not expected to be sifted, by a weak point being found, where no pains, from not foreseeing the attack, had been made to support it. . . .

Your Lordships recollect that great passage—I say great, for it is poetically just and eloquent—in the sacred writings, where the elders had joined themselves, two of them, in a plot which had appeared to have succeeded, “for that,” as the Scriptures say, “they had hardened their hearts, and had turned away their eyes, that they might not look at Heaven, and that they might do the purposes of unjust judgments.” But they, though giving a clear, consistent, uncontradicted story, were disappointed, and their victim was rescued from their gripe, by the trifling circumstance of a contradiction about the mastich tree. Let no man call those contradictions or those falsehoods, which false witnesses swear to from needless falsehood, such as Sacchi about his changing his name, or such as Demont about her letters, or such as Majoochi about the banker's clerk, or such as all the others belonging to the other witnesses, not going to the main body of

\* Queen Caroline, the Consort of George IV., was accused of infidelity, and a bill was brought in to Parliament for the dissolution of the marriage in June, 1820. Brougham, as the Queen's Attorney-General, defended her with great skill and indefatigable zeal. The Bill of Pains and Penalties, as the divorce measure was termed, was ultimately withdrawn, though it passed its second reading.

the case, but to the main body of the credit of the witnesses—let no man rashly and blindly call those accidents. They are dispensations of Providence, which wills not that the guilty should triumph, and which favourably protects the innocent. . . .

Such, my lords, is this case now before you ! Such is the evidence in support of this measure, inadequate to prove a debt—impotent to deprive of any civil right—ridiculous of the lowest offence—scandalous if brought forward to support a charge of the highest nature which the law knows—monstrous to ruin the honour of an English Queen ! What shall I say, then, if this is their case—if this is the species of proof by which an act of judicial legislature, an *ex post facto* law, is sought to be passed against this defenceless woman ? My lords, I pray your lordships to pause. You are standing on the brink of a precipice. It will go forth your judgment if it goes against the Queen ; but it will be the only judgment you will ever pronounce which will fail in its object, and return upon those which gave it. My Lords, from the horrors of this catastrophe—save the country—save yourselves.

#### JUSTICE TO IRELAND

England, possessing Ireland, in the possession of that which ought to be her security in peace and her sinew in war ; and yet, in war, what has Ireland been but a strength to our enemies ? what in peace, but an eternal source of revolts and rebellion ? Ireland, with a territory of immense extent, with a soil of almost unrivalled fertility, with a climate more genial than the climate of England, with an immense population of strong-built, hardy labourers—men suited alike to fill up the ranks of our armies in war, or for employment at home in the works of agriculture or manufactures—Ireland, with all these blessings which Providence has so profusely showered upon her ? We have been stewards over her for the last hundred and twenty years ; but our solicitude for her has appeared only in those hours of danger when we apprehended the possibility of her joining our enemies, or when, having no enemy abroad to contend with, she raised her standard, perhaps in despair, and we trembled for ourselves.

It cannot be denied that the sole object of England has been to render Ireland a safe position. We have been stewards over Ireland for this long period of time. I repeat that we shall one day have to give an account of our stewardship—a black account it will be, but it must be forthcoming. What have we done for the country which we are bound to aid and protect ? In our hands her population seems a curse to her rather than a blessing. They are a wretched, suffering, depressed race—without motive for exertion—starving in the midst of plenty. But, wretched as they are, they will not be content to remain so. They now demand justice. They call for the attention of the House, and they are ready to prove their grievances. They have already proved the scandalous and unequal administration of her laws. In England justice is delayed, but, thank Heaven, it can never be sold. In Ireland it is sold to the rich, refused to the poor, and delayed to all parties. It is in vain to disguise the fact—it is in vain to shun the disclosure of the truth. We stand, in regard to Ireland, upon the brink of a precipice. Things cannot remain as they are. They must either get better or worse. I hope, I trust, that such an interval may yet be granted as will allow time for measures—and they must be sweeping ones—of reformation ; but if this interval be neglected, fearful indeed will be the consequences which will ensue. I may be wrong in this prediction ; but if I am wrong, I do not stand alone. I am backed by the spirit of the wisest laws—by the opinions of the most

famous men of former ages. If I err, I err in company with the best judgments of our own time ; I err with the common sense of the whole world, with the very decrees of Providence, to support me. We are driving 6,000,000 of people to madness, to despair. What results can reasonably be expected from such blind obstinacy and injustice ? It will not do for honourable gentlemen to meet this case with their old flimsy defences and evasions. Excuse after excuse we have had for refusing to do justice to Ireland ; but the old excuses will not do—they will apply no longer. . . .

At one period we could not listen to the Catholics from an apprehension of Buonaparte ; at another period the question was abandoned, for fear of breaking down a strong Administration ; on a third occasion the claimants were met with " the scruples of the monarch." Buonaparte has since died upon the rock of St. Helena, under solitary confinement and unnecessary torture. The monarch, too, is gone to his great account. There are no scruples in the interests of Ireland. Two objections, therefore, to the claims of the Catholics, are, by the mere lapse of time, completely got rid of ; and for the third, the danger of breaking down a strong Administration, it will be admitted on all hands that we run very little hazard just now of doing anything of the kind.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on June 26th, 1823, on the Catholic Emancipation question.*

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS CIVIL AND MILITARY HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT.—  
" THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD."

I cannot, Sir, sit down, without saying a few words on a particular subject, connected with the present Administration, to which, I confess, I feel a very great degree of objection. I allude to the Commander-in-chief of the army of this country having been placed by his Sovereign at the head of the Government. No man values more than I do the illustrious talents of the noble duke as a soldier. No man glories more in the various victories which the noble duke has achieved than I do. Indeed, when many persons were under-valuing those victories, and describing them as " untoward," I raised my voice in this House and endeavoured to show their importance ; I was one of the first to endeavour, by all the little means in my power, to promote the successful career of the noble duke, by placing greater and more extensive resources at his disposal : but, though I entertain the highest opinion of the noble duke's military genius, still I do not like to see him at the head of the finance of this country, enjoying all the patronage of the Crown ;—enjoying, as he does enjoy, the perfect confidence of his Sovereign ;—enjoying the patronage of the army ; enjoying the patronage of the Church ;—and, in fact, enjoying most of the other patronage of the State. To the noble duke also is entrusted the right to convey constant and confidential advice to the ear of his master. As a constitutional man, this state of things strikes me as being most unconstitutional.

I am told that the noble duke is a person of very great vigour in Council, and that his talents are not confined to the art of war. It may be so ; but that does not remove my objections against the noble duke's being placed in possession of such an immense mass of civil and military influence. It has been said that the noble duke is incapable of speaking in public as a First Minister ought to do, and that, therefore, he was an ineligible person for the situation. Now I conceive

that there is no validity in that objection. I was present when the noble duke declared that he did not aim at the situation of First Minister, and I never heard a better speech in my life. Nothing could be more suited to the occasion : I never saw less want of capacity in an individual who might be called upon to take an active part in debate. This, therefore, is not my reason for objecting to the appointment. That objection rests on the constitutional grounds I have already stated ; and, moreover, because the noble duke's habits have been military, not civil.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the House of the noble duke's near connection with the very worst, and most despotic, and the most purely military system, into which this country has ever been seduced. That, however, forms in my mind another and a very strong objection to his being placed at the head of the Administration. . . .

Let it not be supposed that I am inclined to exaggerate. I entertain no fear of slavery being introduced by the power of the sword. It would require a stronger—it would demand a more powerful man, even than the Duke of Wellington, to effect such an object. The noble duke may take the army, he may take the navy, he may take the mitre, he may take the Great Seal. I will make the noble duke a present of them all. Let him come on with his whole force, sword in hand, against the Constitution, and the energies of the people of this country will defeat his utmost efforts. Therefore I am perfectly convinced that there will be no unconstitutional attack on the liberties of the people. These are not the times for such an attempt. There have been periods when the country heard with dismay that "The soldier was abroad." That is not the case now. Let the soldier be abroad ;—in the present age he can do nothing. There is another person abroad—a less important person in the eyes of some, an insignificant person, whose labours have tended to produce this state of things. The school-master is abroad ! And I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do to the soldier in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country. \*I think the appointment of the Duke of Wellington is bad in a constitutional point of view ; but as to any violence being in consequence directed against the liberties of the country, the fear of such an event I look upon to be futile and groundless.—*Speech in the House of Commons on Jan. 29th, 1828, on the merging of the supreme military and civil power in the Duke of Wellington.*

#### SALUTARY INNOVATION AND LAW REFORM

The great stream of time is perpetually flowing on ; all things around us are in ceaseless motion ; and we vainly imagine to preserve our relative position among them by getting out of the current and standing stock still on the margin. The stately vessel we belong to glides down ; our bark is attached to it ; we might "pursue the triumph, and partake the gale ;" but, worse than the fool who stares, expecting the current to flow down and run out, we exclaim, Stop the boat !—and would tear it away to strand it, for the sake of preserving its connection with the vessel. All the changes that are hourly and gently going on in spite of us, and all those which we ought to make, that violent severances of settled relations may not be effected, far from exciting murmurs of discontent, ought to be gladly hailed as dispensations of a bountiful Providence, instead of filling us with a thoughtless and preposterous alarm.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 7th, 1828.*

## THE MIDDLE CLASSES

I never have bowed to the populace—the mob ; though I have never testified any unbecoming contempt of them. Where is the man who has yielded less to their demands than he who now addresses you ? Have I not opposed their wishes again and again ? Have I not disengaged myself from them on their most favourite subject, and pronounced a demonstration, as I deemed it, of the absurdity and delusion of the ballot ? But, if there is a mob, there is the people also. I speak now of the middle classes—of those hundreds of thousands of respectable persons—the most numerous, and by far the most wealthy, order of the community ; for if all your Lordships' castles, manors, rights of warren, and rights of chase, with all your broad acres, were brought to the hammer, and sold at fifty years' purchase, the price would fly up and kick the beam when counterpoised by the vast and solid riches of those middle classes, who are also the genuine depositaries of sober, rational, intelligent, and honest English feeling. Unable though they be to round a period and point an epigram, they are solid, right-judging men, and, above all, not given to change. If they have a fault, it is that error on the right side, a suspicion of state quacks—a dogged love of existing institutions—a perfect contempt of all political nostrums. They will neither be led away by false reasoning, nor deluded by impudent flattery ; but so neither will they be scared by classical quotations, or brow-beaten by fine sentences ; and as for an epigram, they care as little for it as for a cannon ball. Grave, intelligent, rational, fond of thinking for themselves, they consider a subject long before they make up their minds on it ; and the opinions they are thus slow in forming, they are not swift to abandon.—*Speech on the Reform Bill. Oct. 7th, 1831.*

## POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION

Good God, my Lords ! is it possible to look at the question of crime, and the progress of crime, and not to see what a monster—what a gigantic counter-agent—you have, stalking through the length and breadth of the land, and laying waste all the moral feelings and finer sensibilities, as well as all the prudential restraints, which society, which law, and which even our nature uncorrupted and unrefined, tend to throw about the paths of men ? This counter-agent is the poor laws, and the abuse of the poor laws. What signifies it, then, for me, or one or two others, founding infant schools in parishes, or forming central schools for wider purposes, or making learning so cheap that no man shall be so poor that he cannot afford to buy a library in the course of twelve months, adapted to his own particular profession, whether as an artificer, a man of science, a moralist, or a religionist,—what signifies all this being done by us ? It is like pouring a drop of water into a glass of arsenic or prussic acid, and thinking thereby to neutralize its deleterious effects.

Let us throw men upon their own resources ; let us leave off dilating about the rights of the poor ; and proceed to eradicate out of men's minds that which the abuses of the poor laws have implanted into them, and made epidemical in this country—namely, this principle, that every man may be idle or industrious as he pleases, he shall fare all the same. Good God, my Lords ! can there be any principle so destructive as this ? Did ever man, did ever fiend, devise a principle so calculated to contaminate character by removing the best restraint upon evil-doing, evil thoughts as well—I mean the restraint of common prudence, which, since man's fall, is the condition by which he shall live. God Almighty has decreed that man should live by the sweat of his brow ; but human legislation has decreed

the very reverse. Man has said, be his brow moist with sweat or be it parched, be he industrious, or be he idle, active or indolent, let him lead the life of the snail, or the sluggard, he shall feed of the earnings of his industrious fellow-creature, and that fellow-creature shall, for his industry, pay the penalty of supporting the sluggard in his worthless existence.—*Speech in the House of Lords on June 20th, 1834.*

#### MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Is there even anything more important for the good government of the country—more valuable for tranquillity, more comfortable for all classes of his Majesty's subjects, than that their great national institutions should be placed on such a footing, and their administration entrusted into such hands as shall command respect, and secure confidence? This it is, indeed, which constitutes the great line of distinction between free, and popular, and despotic Governments; and nobody but a driveller, a dotard, or a fanatic, could dream of its being any disadvantage that the people should be satisfied with the manner in which their affairs are conducted. If that be a truism in general—if it be admitted to have application to all the mighty arrangements of power, in the administration of the Empire, and the Constitution of the Realm—is it to be entirely held inapplicable when you come down from the higher eminences to the humbler but nearer level of the people themselves, when dealing with that which interests most men—not the fate of empires—not the councils of states, not the fortunes of kings, not the interests, cabals, or existence of their Ministers, but how their own town shall be ruled, how their own justice shall be administered, their own concerns managed, their own supplies raised; and how the money wrung from the hard earnings of their toil for the support of the police, the administration of justice, and for other purposes of municipal government, should be regularly, honestly, and even parsimoniously administered? Instead of its indicating a driveller to hold such doctrines, it is the true wisdom of the truest statesman to desire, on the one hand, that the people at large should be satisfied with the general government of the country, but also to desire on the other, as warmly and as strenuously, to bestir himself that the people may not be dissatisfied with the administration of their municipal affairs.—*Speech in the House of Lords, Aug. 3rd, 1835.*

#### THE INFLUENCE OF STEAM POWER

In their distance from each other, and for every purpose of intercourse, Manchester and Liverpool are, as if by magic, brought within one-fifth part of the distance ten years ago, and within one-tenth part of the distance a century before that. What has made this most extraordinary revolution? What is it that enables man to move almost with the wings of the dove, and perform the various operations of business, or amusement, or pleasure, to attend to private affairs, or to public concerns, half a dozen times in the course of the day, at distances thirty miles asunder, which in former ages it would have taken a week to accomplish? What is it that makes the distance between Manchester and Liverpool nothing? which will enable us shortly to proceed from Liverpool to Birmingham, or from Liverpool to London, in eight or ten hours at farthest? What is the power that annihilates, as it were, the space which separates different communities of men,—or walking on the waves brings the continents buried in the heart of America down to the sea-coast, and civilises their inhabitants by commerce and intercourse with their fellow-men? Why, it is Steam, subdued to the use of man, and made as docile and a thousand times more powerful than any



domestic animal, instead of being the source of terror and dismay by its devastation. And who was it that subjugated this mighty power? A working mechanic, James Watt, whose name ought to live for ever, not in the annals of his country alone, but of his kind, as the common benefactor of the human race.—*Speech on laying the Foundation Stone of the New Mechanics' Institution at Liverpool, July 20th, 1835.*

#### THE DEATH PENALTY

If I could believe that the punishment of death, as it now stands in the Statute Book—as it exists according to the letter of the law—has the tendency of deterring persons from the commission of those offences, for which the law leaves it as a matter of discretion whether that punishment shall be inflicted or not, I certainly should be disposed not to alter, but to continue that law. For, with great respect for those excellent and amiable persons who have devoted so much of their time to this question, but who have come to so different a conclusion from that which I have arrived at, I must repeat that my opinion still remains opposed to theirs. I am not aware of the existence of any law, human or divine, which prevents the taking of a man's life as a punishment for crimes which he has committed. When I say human, I mean that there is not any general law which ought to bind the conduct of all men, which prohibits, any more than I think any divine enactment does, the taking of a man's life as a punishment for any great and grievous faults committed by him. It is said that, except for the shedding of man's blood, man shall not shed that of another; there is no doubt that "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But that does not exclude the same capital punishment from being inflicted for all other offences besides the shedding of blood; neither is there any general feeling which ought to influence any well-regulated mind against the infliction of capital punishment for other offences besides murder. The same grounds and the same justification exist for the punishment of death for other crimes than murder. For what is the justification which you have for taking away a man's life when he has taken that of another? The commission of such a crime is, I should say, an almost inexpiable offence—a great injury is done to society, and the most irreparable injury is inflicted on the individual and his family whose life has been so taken. But when we come calmly and reasonably, and not figuratively and metaphorically, to consider the subject, we see that it is not a justification for taking away a man's life, that he has taken that of another; the only justification is, that by so taking another's life, you obtain that which is the best security against the commission of the same crime by others. That is the cause of the punishment; it has its origin in that principle; that is the only intelligible defence for its exercise; it is the only reason which entitles us to do that which is, but for that principle, merely the taking away a second man's life, because a first man's life has been taken. The feelings of all men are in unison with that sentiment, because there is a natural indignation operating in their minds, which renders it impossible to reconcile them to the shedding of one man's blood, merely because he has been the shedder of the blood of another; and it is only on the principle of deterring others from the commission of so enormous a crime that they think such a punishment justifiable. . . . But my objection to the present law is, that it denounces but does not execute—that it had so long threatened, but so long failed in practice to carry that threat into execution, that its denunciations have become of no effect, and have in fact, operated on criminals as no threat at all.—*Speech in the House of Lords, June 25th, 1836.*

THE REFORM BILL OF 1831

My Lords, I do not disguise the intense solicitude which I feel for the event of this debate, because I know full well that the peace of the country is involved in the issue. I cannot look without dismay at the rejection of the measure. But, grievous as may be the consequences of a temporary defeat—temporary it can only be, for its ultimate, and even speedy success, is certain—nothing can now stop it. Do not suffer yourselves to be persuaded that even if the present Ministers were driven from the helm, any one could steer you through the troubles which surround you without reform. But our successors would take up the task in circumstances far less auspicious. Under them, you would be fain to grant a bill, compared with which the one we offer you is moderate indeed. Hear the parable of the Sibyl, for it conveys a wise and wholesome moral. She now appears at your gate, and offers you mildly the volumes—the precious volumes of wisdom and peace. The price she asks is reasonable: to restore the franchise, which, without any bargain, you ought voluntarily to give; you refuse her terms—her moderate terms—she darkens the porch no longer. But soon, for you cannot do without her wares, you call her back; again she comes, but with diminished treasures; the leaves of the book are in part torn away by lawless hands—in part defaced with characters of blood. But the prophetic maid has risen in her demands—it is Parliaments by the year—it is vote by the ballot—it is suffrage by the million! From this you turn away indignant, and for the second time she departs. Beware of her third coming, for the treasure you must have; and what price she may next demand, who shall tell? It may even be the mace which rests upon that woosack. What may follow your course of obstinacy, if persisted in, I cannot take upon me to predict, nor do I wish to conjecture. But this I know full well, that, as sure as man is mortal, and to err is human, justice deferred enhances the price at which you must purchase safety and peace; nor can you expect to gather in another crop than they did who went before you, if you persevere in their utterly abominable husbandry of sowing injustice and reaping rebellion.

But among the awful considerations that now bow down my mind, there is one which stands pre-eminent above the rest. You are the highest judicature in the realm; you sit here as judge, and decide all causes, civil and criminal, without appeal. It is a judge's first duty never to pronounce sentence in the most trifling case without hearing. Will you make this the exception? Are you really prepared to determine, but not to *hear* the mighty cause upon which a nation's hopes and fears hang? You are. Then beware of your decision! Rouse not, I beseech you, a peace-loving, but a resolute people; alienate not from your body the affections of a whole empire. As your friend, as the friend of my order, as the friend of my country, as the faithful servant of my Sovereign, I counsel you to assist with the uttermost efforts in preserving the peace, and upholding and perpetuating the Constitution. Therefore I pray and exhort you not to reject this measure. By all you hold most dear—by all the ties that bind every one of us to our common order and our common country, I solemnly adjure you—I warn you—I implore you—yea, on my bended knees, I supplicate you—reject not this bill!—*Speech in the House of Lords in the Debate on the Reform Bill, Oct. 7th, 1831.*

## JOHN, FIRST EARL RUSSELL, 1792-1878

tatesman. Third son of John, sixth Duke of Bedford. After completing his education at Westminster and Edinburgh, he entered Parliament in 1819, as member for Tavistock. He took an active part in the furtherance of Liberal measures, and mainly through his instrumentality the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was passed in 1829. In 1831, as a member of the Grey Administration, he introduced the first great Reform Bill. After filling successively the posts of Paymaster of the Forces, Secretary of State for Home Affairs, and Secretary of State for the Colonies he became Premier in 1846, continuing in office until 1852. In 1859, he assumed the Foreign Secretaryship, and on Lord Palmerston's death in 1865 he for a second time was placed at the head of a Ministry. Previous to that, in 1861, he had been raised to the peerage. During his long and busy career he published many political works, some of great interest and importance.

## ELECTORAL REFORM

I BELIEVE, Sir, that I have now done with the exposition of our plan, and with the principal objections which may be brought against it. There is, indeed, one objection, Sir, and that a very comprehensive one, to which I have not yet alluded ; that is the question which may be put to us, as to what benefit we hope to confer upon the people by our plan of reform. We may be asked, " Will you relieve the distresses of the people by reform ; or will you not leave them precisely as they are ? " But, Sir, I say that such a question is totally irrelevant to the matter. Sir, it might just as well be objected to my noble friend's intentions to relieve the people by taking off the duty on coals : " Oh, what signifies your reduction ? It does nothing whatever towards improving the Constitution." Any gentleman might just as well arraign my noble friend in this way as tell me that this bill will not improve the condition or increase the comforts of the poor. Nor am I one of those who would debate the theory on which such expectations are founded. I am not one of those, Sir, who would hold out to the people vain hopes of immediate benefit from this measure which it could not realise. Neither am I one of those who maintain the opposite theory, such as is expressed in a well-known couplet, which I remember to have been once quoted by the late Lord Liverpool :

How small, of all that human hearts endure,  
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.

Far am I from agreeing in the opinion which the poet has so well expressed in those lines. They are very pretty poetry, but they are not true in politics. When I look to one country as compared to another, at the different epochs of their history, I am forced to believe that it is upon law and government that the prosperity and morality, the power and intelligence, of every nation depend. When I compare Spain (in which the traveller is met by the stiletto in the streets, and by the carbine in high roads) to England, in the poorest parts of which the traveller passes without fear, I think the difference is occasioned by the different Governments under which the people live. At least, Sir, it cannot be denied that the end attained by the two Governments of these respective countries is essentially different. Is it possible, indeed, for any intelligent person to travel through countries and not trace the characters and conduct of the inhabitants to the nature of their institutions and government ? When I propose, therefore, a reform of Parliament—when I propose that the people shall send into this House real representatives, to deliberate on their wants, and to consult for their interests—to consider their grievances, and attend to their desires—when I propose that they

shall in fact, as they hitherto have been said to do in theory, possess the vast power of holding the purse-strings of the monarch, I do it under the conviction that I am laying the foundation of the greatest improvement in the comforts and well-being of the people. Let what will be done, the laws of such an assembly will not be voted by men hurrying from the country, almost ignorant for what purpose, and arriving in this House at twelve o'clock at night, in time to give a vote upon a subject of which they have scarcely heard, and which they have never considered. In such an assembly the representatives of the people will consider, not with whom they are voting, but for what measure they vote. The measures of such an assembly will be deliberately weighed—and will be carefully designed to remedy the evils which may have been brought upon the country by bad laws, and to rescue it from their operation. When I am told that the government of a country does not affect the condition of a people, I say—look to Ireland. What has caused the state of that country to be such as it now is? What, but the want of due, kind, paternal attention on the part of its Government—a want of fellow-feeling in the Legislature with the great mass of the people? I say, then, that if we identify this House with the people of the three kingdoms, if we give England, Ireland, and Scotland the right of having legitimate representatives in Parliament, however slow may be our progress—however we may be reproached by the factious for the tardiness of our advance in giving to the people all the rights and privileges they claim, we provide for carrying into effect the acknowledged principles of the Constitution, preserving undiminished the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the nation, guarded by the faithful representatives of a free people and the loyal subjects of a generous King. I move, Sir, for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of England and Wales.—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Commons, June 24th, 1831, in introducing the first Reform Bill.*

#### THE BALLOT

I feel ashamed that such a proposition\* should have come up from the other House. Surely it is a degradation to which the country will never submit. As to the allegation that every adult man in England has the right of voting, it is allowed by Mr. Gladstone himself to be not an accurate statement, and he rebukes Mr. Disraeli for supposing that every man who marries has the right of voting. I must, in addition, point out that our whole progress for the last century and a half has been in favour of publicity. There was a time when the proceedings of Parliament were published under the disguise of "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput," and notes of the speeches were prefixed by fictitious names. I remember, in my own time, seeing the Sergeant-at-Arms bring before the House a man whom he found taking notes in the gallery. Since that time we have gone on introducing more and more publicity in the transaction of public affairs. The debates in Parliament are reported day by day, under the real names of the speakers, and are openly discussed the next morning in the journals throughout the kingdom. The proceedings of the courts of law are public, and the man who is called upon to give evidence in the court of law is not allowed the shelter of secrecy even where—as is often the case in Ireland—his giving evidence may be attended with risk to his life. No exemptions are made; all questions affecting life and property are decided in public. Yet it is now proposed that if a man comes to the polling

\* A provision contained in the Municipal Elections Bill enacting that voting should be by ballot.

booth and says, "I wish to vote for Lord Enfield," so essential is secrecy in the performance of public duty, that the open declaration of a man's wish and opinion by an officer in the polling booth is declared to be a disgrace and a crime. . . . At whatever cost the law must be administered in public; but when you come to the election of the law-givers, secrecy is so essential in the performance of this form of public duty—the vote must be so entirely in the bosom of the voter that it is impossible that publicity can be allowed, the vote must be given in secret. The man who is in office in the booth and hears a person say, "I vote for Lord Enfield," or "I vote for Lord George Hamilton," is liable to six months' imprisonment. This is simply monstrous. The people of England have for hundreds of years been free to go to the poll and say, "I vote for such and such a man, because I look upon him as the most fit." But this is no longer to be allowed; secrecy, not freedom of voting, is henceforward to be the rule.—*Speech in the House of Lords on July 8th, 1872.*

### WILLIAM PULTENEY, EARL OF BATH, 1682–1764

Statesman. Educated at Westminster School and Christchurch, Oxford. Entered Parliament in the reign of Queen Anne as member for Hedon. He was the leader of the Opposition during Walpole's long tenure of power. On that statesman's fall in 1742, he refused the Premiership but accepted a peerage. This act greatly diminished his popularity. "The nation," as Lord Chesterfield put it, "looked upon him as a deserter, and he shrunk into insignificance and an Earldom." Pulteney was a man of extraordinary eloquence, but unfortunately only the tradition of most of his speeches survives.

#### THE DANGERS OF A STANDING ARMY

SIR,—We have heard a great deal about Parliamentary armies, and about an army continued from year to year. I have always been, Sir, and always shall be, against a standing army of any kind: to me it is a terrible thing, whether under that of Parliament or any other designation; a standing army is still a standing army, whatever name it be called by. They are a body of men distinct from the body of the people. They are governed by different laws and blind obedience, and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer is their only principle. The nations around us, Sir, are already enslaved, and have been enslaved by those very means; by means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties. It is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a considerable standing army is kept up. Shall we, then, take any of our measures from the example of our neighbours? No, Sir; on the contrary, from their misfortunes we ought to learn to avoid those rocks upon which they have split.

It signifies nothing to tell me that our army is commanded by such gentlemen as cannot be supposed to join in any measures for enslaving their country. It may be so; I hope it is so. I have a very good opinion of many gentlemen now in the army; I believe they would not join in any such measures. But their lives are uncertain; nor can we be sure how long they may be continued in command. They may be all dismissed in a moment and proper tools of power put in their room. Besides, Sir, we know the passions of men; we know how dangerous it is to trust the best of men with too much power. Where was there a braver army than that under Julius Cæsar? Where was there ever an army that had served their country more faithfully? That army was commanded generally by the best citizens of Rome, by men of great fortune and figure in their country.

The affections of the soldiers towards their country, the honour and integrity of the under officers, are not to be depended on. By the military law the administration of justice is so quick, and the punishments so severe, that neither officer nor soldier dares offer to dispute the orders of his supreme commander. He must not consult his own inclinations. If an officer were commanded to pull his own father out of his house, he must do it : he dares not disobey : immediate death would be the consequence of the least grumbling. And if an officer were sent into the Court of Requests, accompanied by a body of musqueteers with screwed bayonets, and with orders to tell us what we ought to do, and how we were to vote, I know what would be the duty of this House. I know it would be our duty to order the officer to be taken and hanged up at the door of the lobby. But, Sir, I doubt much if such a spirit would be found in the House or in any House of Commons that will ever be in England.

Sir, I talk not of imaginary things ; I talk of what has happened to an English House of Commons and from an English army ; not only from an English army, but from an army that was raised by that very House of Commons, an army that was paid by them, that was commanded by generals appointed by them. Therefore, do not let us vainly imagine that an army raised and maintained by authority of Parliament will always be submissive to them. If an army be so numerous to have it in their power to overawe the Parliament, they will be submissive so long as Parliament does nothing to disoblige their favourite general ; but when that case happens I am afraid that in place of the Parliament dismissing the army, the army will dismiss the Parliament, as they have done heretofore. Nor does the legality or illegality of that Parliament or of that army alter the case ; for with respect to that army, and according to their way of thinking, the Parliament dismissed by them was a legal Parliament. They were an army raised and maintained according to law ; and at first they were raised, as they imagined, for the preservation of those liberties which they afterwards destroyed.

It has been urged, Sir, that whoever is for the Protestant succession must be for continuing the army. For that very reason, Sir, I am against continuing the army. I know neither the Protestant succession in his Majesty's most illustrious House, nor any succession can ever be safe as long as there is a standing army in the country. Armies, Sir, have no regard to hereditary successions. The first two Cæsars at Rome did pretty well, and found means to keep their armies in tolerable subjection, because the generals and officers were all their own creatures. But how did it fare with their successors ? Was not every one of them named by the army without any regard to hereditary right, or any right ? A cobbler, a gardener, or any other man who happened to raise himself in the army, and could gain their affections, was made emperor of the world. Was not every succeeding emperor raised to the throne or tumbled headlong into the dust, according to the mere whim or mad frenzy of the soldiers ?

We are told this army is desired to be continued—but for one year longer, or for a limited term of years ? Does the most absolute monarch tell his army that he is to continue them for any number of years, or any number of months ? How long have we already continued our army from year to year ? And if it thus continues wherein will it differ from the standing armies of those countries which have already submitted their necks to the yoke ? We are now come to the Rubicon ; our army is now to be reduced or it never will. From his Majesty's own mouth we are assured of a profound tranquillity abroad ; we know there is one at home. If this is not a proper time, if these circumstances do not afford us a safe opportunity for reducing a part at least of our regular forces, we never can

expect to see any reduction ; and this nation, already overburdened with debts and taxes, must be loaded with the heavy charge of perpetually supporting a numerous standing army ; and remain for ever exposed to the danger of having its liberties and privileges trampled upon by any future King or Ministry who shall take it in their heads to do so, and shall take a proper care to model the army for that purpose.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on a Motion for the Reduction of the Army.*

### PATRICK HENRY, 1786-1799

One of the fathers of the American Revolution. Born at Studley, Hamond County, Virginia. As a leading representative of Virginia, he took a prominent part in the debates which precipitated the War of Independence, and in the subsequent discussions on the constitution of the Republican Government.

#### PEACE WHERE THERE IS NO PEACE

MR. PRESIDENT, no man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights ; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery ; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that syren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty ? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation ? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth ; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British Ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House ? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received ? Trust it not, Sir ; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our lands ? Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation ? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love ?

Let us not deceive ourselves, Sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation ; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, Sir, what

means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, Sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British Ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has all been in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, Sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, Sir—we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, Sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of the means which the God of Nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, Sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, Sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, Sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable, and let it come! I repeat it, Sir—let it come!

It is in vain, Sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!—*Speech at the Virginia Convention of Delegates, March 28th, 1775.*



## THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES\*

I am persuaded of what the hon. gentlemen say that separate confederacies will ruin us. In my judgment, they are evils never to be thought of till people are driven by necessity. When he asks my opinion of consolidation—of one power to reign over America with a strong hand—I will tell him I am persuaded of the rectitude of my hon. friend's (Mr. Mason's) opinion, that one Government cannot reign over so extensive a country as this is without absolute despotism. Compared to such a consolidation, small confederacies are little evils; though they ought to be resorted to but in case of necessity. Virginia and North Carolina are despised. They could exist separated from the rest of America. Maryland and Vermont were not overrun when out of the Confederacy. Though it is not a desirable object, yet I trust that on examination it will be found that Virginia and North Carolina would not be swallowed up in case it was necessary for them to be joined together.

When we come to the spirit of domestic peace, the humble genius of Virginia has formed a Government suitable to the genius of her people. I believe the hands that formed the American Constitution triumph in the experiment. It proves that the man who formed it, and perhaps by accident, did what design could not do in other parts of the world. After all your reforms in government, unless you consult the genius of the inhabitants, you will never succeed—your system can have no duration. Let me appeal to the candour of the committee, if the want of money be not the source of all our misfortunes? We cannot be blamed for not making dollars. This want of money cannot be supplied by changes in Government. The only possible remedy, as I *have before* asserted, is industry aided by economy. Compare the genius of the people with the Government of this country. Let me remark that it stood the severest conflict, during the war, to which ever human virtue has been called. I call upon every gentleman here to declare whether the King of England had any subjects so attached to his family and Government so loyal as we were. But the genius of Virginia called us for liberty—called us from those beloved endearments which from long habit we were taught to love and revere. We entertained from our earliest infancy the most sincere regard and reverence for the mother-country. Our partiality extended to a predilection for her customs, habits, manners, and laws. Thus inclined, when the deprivation of our liberty was attempted, what did we do? What did the genius of Virginia tell us? *Sell all and purchase liberty.* This was a severe conflict. Republican maxims were then esteemed. Those maxims, and the genius of Virginia, landed you safe on the shore of freedom. On this awful occasion did you want a Federal Government? Did federal ideas possess your minds? Did federal ideas lead you to the most splendid victories?

I must again repeat the favourite idea, that the genius of Virginia did, and will again, lead us to happiness. To obtain the most splendid prize, you did not consolidate, you accomplished the most glorious ends by the assistance of the genius of your country. Men were then taught by that genius that they were fighting for what was most dear to them. View the most affectionate father—the most

\* The framing of the Constitution of the United States was preceded by a prolonged controversy between the advocates respectively of State rights, and of the Federal principle. Henry was, perhaps, the ablest representative of the former party. The extracts given here are from a speech he delivered in the Convention of Virginia convened at Richmond on June 2nd, 1788, for the purpose of deliberating upon the Federal Constitution framed by the General Convention which sat at Philadelphia from May 14th until Sept. 28th, 1787. It is a matter of history that, notwithstanding the opposition, the Constitution was finally ratified, though by very narrow majorities in several of the States.

tender mother, operated on by liberty, nobly stimulating their sons, their dearest sons—sometimes their only son—to advance to the defence of his country. We have seen sons of Cincinnatus, without splendid magnificence or parade, going, with the genius of their great progenitor, Cincinnatus, to the plough. Men who served their country without ruining it—men who had served it to the destruction of their private patrimonies—their country owing them amazing amounts, for the payments of which no adequate provision was then made. We have seen such men throw prostrate their arms at your feet. They did not call for those emoluments which ambition presents to some imaginations. The soldiers, who were able to command everything, instead of trampling on those laws which they were instituted to defend, most strictly obeyed them. The hands of justice have not been laid on a single American soldier. Bring them into contrast with European veterans. You will see an astonishing superiority over the latter. There has been a strict subordination to the laws. The honourable gentleman's office gave him an opportunity of viewing if the laws were administered so as to prevent riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies. From his then situation he could have furnished us with the instances in which licentiousness trampled on the laws. Among all our troubles we have paid almost to the last shilling for the sake of justice; we have paid as well as any State; I will not say better. To support the general Government, and our own Legislature—to pay the interest of the public debts, and defray contingencies, we have been heavily taxed. To add to these things, the distresses produced by paper money, and by tobacco contracts, were sufficient to render any people discontented. These, Sir, were great temptations; but in the most severe conflict of misfortunes, this code of laws—this genius of Virginia, call it what you will—triumphed over everything.

Why did it please the gentleman (Mr. Corbin) to bestow such epithets on our country? Have the worms taken possession of the wood, that our strong vessel—our political vessel—has sprung a leak? He may know better than me, but I consider such epithets to be the most illiberal and unwarrantable aspersions on our laws. The system of laws under which we have lived has been tried and found to suit our genius. I trust we shall not change this happy system. I cannot so easily take leave of an old friend. Till I see him following after and pursuing other objects, which can pervert the great objects of human legislation, pardon me if I withhold my assent.

Some here speak of the difficulty in forming a new code of laws. Young as we were, it was not wonderful if there was a difficulty in forming and assimilating one system of laws. I shall be obliged to the gentleman if he would point out those glaring, those great faults. The efforts of assimilating our laws to our genius have not been found altogether vain. I shall pass over some other circumstances which I intended to mention, and endeavour to come to the capital objection which my hon. friend made. My worthy friend said that a republican form of Government would not suit a very extensive country; but that if a Government were judiciously organised and limits prescribed to it, an attention to these principles might render it possible for it to exist in an extensive territory. Whoever will be bold to say that a continent can be governed by that system, contradicts all the experience of the world. It is a work too great for human wisdom. Let me call for an example. Experience has been called the best teacher. I call for an example of a great extent of country, governed by one Government, or Congress, call it what you will. I tell him that a Government may be trimmed up according to gentlemen's fancy, but it never can operate—it will be but very short-lived. However disagreeable it may be to lengthen my objections, I cannot help taking notice of what the hon.

gentleman said. To me it appears that there is no check in that Government. The president, senators, and representatives all immediately, or mediately, are the choice of the people. Tell me not of checks on paper ; but tell me of checks founded on self-love. The English Government is founded on self-love. This powerful irresistible stimulus of self-love has saved that Government. It has interposed that hereditary nobility between the King and Commons. If the House of Lords assists or permits the King to overturn the liberties of the people, the same tyranny will destroy them ; they will therefore keep the balance in the democratic branch. Suppose they see the Commons encroach upon the King ; self-love, that great energetic check, will call upon them to interpose : for, if the King be destroyed, their destruction must speedily follow. Here is a consideration which prevails in my mind, to pronounce the British Government superior in this respect to any Government that ever was in any country.

Compare this with your Congressional checks. I beseech gentlemen to consider, whether they can say, when trusting power, that a mere patriotic profession will be equally operative and efficacious as the check of self-love. In considering the experience of ages, is it not seen that fair, disinterested patriotism, and professions of attachment to rectitude, have never been solely trusted to by an enlightened, free people ? If you depend on your presidents' and senators' patriotism, you are done. Have you a resting-place like the British Government ? Where is the rock of your salvation ? The real rock of political salvation is *self-love* perpetuated from age to age in every human breast, and manifested in every action. If they can stand the temptations of human nature, you are safe. If you have a good president, senators, and representatives, there is no danger. But can this be expected from human nature ? Without real checks it will not suffice that some of them are good. A good president, or senator, or representative will have a natural weakness. Virtue will slumber. The wicked will be continually watching ; consequently you will be undone. Where are your checks ? You have no hereditary nobility—an order of men, to whom human eyes can be cast up for relief : for, says the Constitution, there is no title of nobility to be granted ; which, by-the-bye, would not have been so dangerous as the perilous cession of powers contained in that paper : because, as Montesquieu says, when you give titles of nobility you know what you give ; but *when you give power you know not what you give*. If you say that out of this depraved mass you can collect luminous characters, it will not avail, unless this luminous breed will be propagated from generation to generation, and even then, if the number of vicious characters will preponderate, you are undone. And that this will certainly be the case is, to my mind, perfectly clear.

In the British Government there are real balances and checks ; in this system there are only ideal balances. Till I am convinced that there are actual efficient checks, I will not give my assent to its establishment. The president and senators have nothing to lose. They have not that interest in the preservation of the Government that the King and Lords have in England. They will, therefore, be regardless of the interests of the people. The Constitution will be as safe with one body as with two. It will answer every purpose of human legislation. How was the Constitution of England when only the Commons had the power ? I need only remark that it was the most unfortunate era when that country returned to King, Lords, and Commons, without sufficient responsibility in the King. When the Commons of England, in the manly language which became freemen, said to their King, "*You are our servant*," then the temple of liberty was complete. From that noble source have we derived our liberty ; that spirit of patriotic attachment

to one's country ; that zeal for liberty, and that enmity to tyranny, which signalled the then champions of liberty, we inherit from our British ancestors. And I am free to own that if you cannot love a Republican Government, you may love the British Monarchy ; for, although the King is not sufficiently responsible, the responsibility of his agents, and the efficient checks interposed by the British Constitution, render it less dangerous than other monarchies, or oppressive tyrannical aristocracies. What are their checks of exposing accounts ? Their checks upon paper are inefficient and nugatory. Can you search your president's closet ? Is this a real check ? We ought to be exceedingly cautious in giving up this life, this soul of money, this power of taxation to Congress. What powerful check is there here to prevent the most extravagant and profligate squandering of the public money ? What security have we in money matters ? Inquiry is precluded by this Constitution. I never wish to see Congress supplant the States.

But it is more abhorrent to my mind to give them an unlimited and unbounded command over our souls, our lives, our purses, without any check or restraint. How are you to keep inquiry alive ? How discover their conduct ? We are told by that paper that a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time. Here is a beautiful check ! What time ? Here is the utmost latitude left. If those who are in Congress please to put that construction upon it, the words of the Constitution will be satisfied by publishing those accounts once in a hundred years. They may publish or not, as they please. Is this like the present despised system, whereby the accounts are to be published monthly ?

I come now to speak something of requisitions, which the hon. gentleman thought so truly contemptible and disgraceful. That hon. gentleman being a child of the revolution, must recollect with gratitude the glorious effects of requisitions. It is an idea that must be grateful to every American. An English army was sent to compel us to pay money contrary to our consent. To force us by arbitrary and tyrannical coercion to satisfy their unbounded demands. We wished to pay with our own consent. Rather than pay against our consent, we engaged in that bloody contest which terminated so gloriously. By requisitions we pay with our own consent ; by their means we have triumphed in the most arduous struggle that ever tried the virtue of man. We fought then for what we are contending now—to prevent an arbitrary deprivation of our property, contrary to our consent and inclination. I shall be told in this place that those who are to tax us are our representatives. To this I answer, that there is no real check to prevent their ruining us. There is no actual responsibility. The only semblance of a check is the negative power of not re-electing them. This, Sir, is but a feeble barrier, when their personal interest, their ambition and avarice, come to be put in contrast with the happiness of the people. All checks founded on anything but self-love will not avail. This Constitution reflects in the most degrading and mortifying manner on the virtue, integrity, and wisdom of the State Legislatures : it presupposes that the chosen few who go to Congress will have more upright hearts, and more enlightened minds, than those who are members of the individual Legislatures. To suppose that ten gentlemen shall have more real substantial merit than a hundred and seventy is humiliating to the last degree. If, Sir, the diminution of numbers be an augmentation of merit, perfection must centre in one. If you have the faculty of discerning spirits, it is better to point out at once the man who has the most illumined qualities. If ten men be better than a hundred and seventy, it follows of necessity that one is better than ten—the choice is more refined.

Such is the danger of the abuse of implied power, that it would be safer at once

to have seven representatives, the number to which we are now entitled, than depend on the uncertain and ambiguous language of that paper. The number may be lessened instead of being increased ; and yet by argumentative constructive implied power, the proportion of taxes may continue the same, or be increased. Nothing is more perilous than constructive power, which gentlemen are so willing to trust their happiness to.—*From a Speech at the Convention of Virginia on the Expediency of adopting the Federal Constitution, June 4th, 1788.*

### GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1732-1799

The illustrious American patriot and first President of the United States. Born at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland Co., Virginia, Feb. 22nd, 1732. Died at Mount Vernon, Dec. 14th, 1799.

#### AMERICAN NATIONAL POLICY

FELLOW-CITIZENS of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives—Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years ; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me being sufficient to waken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his own qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from Nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impression under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes ; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more

than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency ; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the Executive department, it is made the duty of the President " to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled ; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests ; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality ; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire ; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of Nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity ; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained ; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good ; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to avoid the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the questions

how far the former may be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the Executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditure as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness; so His divine blessings may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.—*Inaugural Address as President of the United States, delivered in New York, April 30th, 1789.*

FISHER AMES, 1758–1808.—*American Politician.*

#### THE TREATY WITH ENGLAND\*

WHAT is patriotism? Is it a narrow affection for the spot where a man was born? Are the very clods where we tread entitled to this ardent preference because they are greener? No, Sir, this is not the character of the virtue, and it soars higher for its object. It is an extended self-love, mingling with all the enjoyments of life, and twisting itself with the minutest filaments of the heart. It is thus we obey the laws of society, because they are the laws of virtue. In their authority we see, not the array of force and terror, but the venerable image of our country's honour. Every good citizen makes that honour his own, and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defence, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it. For what rights of a citizen will be deemed inviolable when a State renounces the principles that constitute their security? Or if his life should not be invaded, what would its enjoyments be in a country odious in the eyes of strangers and dishonoured in his own? Could he look with affection and veneration to such a country as his parent? The sense of having one would die within him; he would blush for his patriotism, if he retained any,

\* This extract is from a speech delivered in defence of the first commercial treaty concluded by the United States with Great Britain in 1795. The treaty gave the United States important trade advantages, and it was further valuable as a recognition on the part of the British Government of the sovereign rights of the United States. But it was bitterly opposed by the democratic representatives in the House of Representatives, on the ground that it was an infraction of previous engagements with France, and prejudiced the rights of individuals against Great Britain. Ames's speech in defence of the treaty turned the tide in its favour. The necessary money for carrying the treaty into effect was voted, though by a narrow majority.

and justly, for it would be a vice. He would be a banished man in his native land. I see no exception to the respect that is paid among nations to the law of good faith. If there are cases in this enlightened period when it is violated, there are none when it is decried. It is the philosophy of politics, the religion of Governments. It is observed by barbarians—a whiff of tobacco-smoke, or a string of beads, gives not merely binding force but sanctity to treaties. Even in Algiers, a truce may be bought for money, but when ratified even Algiers is too wise, or too just, to disown and annul its obligation. Thus we see, neither the ignorance of savages, nor the principles of an association for piracy and rapine, permit a nation to despise its engagements. If, Sir, there could be a resurrection from the foot of the gallows, if the victims of justice could live again, collect together, and form a society, they would, however loth, soon find themselves obliged to make justice, that justice under which they fell, the fundamental law of their state. They would perceive it was their interest to make others respect, and they would, therefore, soon pay some respect themselves, to the obligations of good faith.

It is painful, I hope it is superfluous, to make even the supposition that America should furnish the occasion of this opprobrium. No, let me not even imagine that a Republican Government, sprung, as our own is, from a people enlightened and uncorrupted, a Government whose origin is right, and whose daily discipline is duty, can, upon solemn debate, make its option to be faithless—can dare to act what despots dare not avow, what our own example evinces, the States of Barbary are unsuspected of. No, let me rather make the supposition that Great Britain refuses to execute the treaty, after we have done everything to carry it into effect. Is there any language of reproach pungent enough to express your commentary on the fact? What would you say—or rather, what would you not say? Would you not tell them, wherever an Englishman might travel, shame would stick to him—he would disown his country. You would exclaim, “England, proud of your wealth, and arrogant in the possession of power—blush for these distinctions, which become the vehicles of your dishonour.” Such a nation might truly say to corruption, “Thou art my father,” and to the worm, “Thou art my mother and my sister.” We should say of such a race of men, their name is a heavier burden than their debt.—*From a Speech in the House of Representatives, April 28th, 1796.*

### THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1826

American statesman. Third President of the United States. Born at Shadwell, Virginia, April 2nd, 1743. Died July 4th, 1826.

#### PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

FRIENDS and Fellow-Citizens,—Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country



committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I see here remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think ; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle—that, though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable ; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and as capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.

During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonising spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore ; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety ; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans ; we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its Republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a Republican Government cannot be strong ; that this Government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a Government which has so far kept us free and firm, in the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself ? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order to his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others ? Or, have been found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him ? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principles ; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by Nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe ; too high-minded to endure the degradation of the others, possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation ; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of

our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them ; enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man ; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter ;—with all these blessings what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people ? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, upon the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever State or persuasion, religious or political ; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none ; the support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent Administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies ; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad ; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided ; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism ; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them ; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority ; economy in the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened ; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith ; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid ; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason ; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus*, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment ; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust ; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favour which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of

faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my errors, which will never be intentional ; and your support against the error of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past ; and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good-will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity.—*Inaugural Address, as President delivered March 4th, 1801.*

### LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD (SIR HENRY JAMES), 1828

Born at Hereford. Educated at Cheltenham. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in Jan., 1852. Entered Parliament as member for Taunton in 1869, and was appointed Queen's Counsel in the same year. He was made Solicitor-General in Oct., 1873, and Attorney-General in Nov. in the same year. He was reappointed to the latter office in April, 1880, and held the appointment until June, 1885. He disagreed with Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy, and became prominently identified with the Liberal Unionist organisation. He was one of the leading counsel for the Crown in the Parnell Commission. In 1895 he was raised to the peerage.

#### THE PARNELL COMMISSION

My Lords, long as I have occupied your attention, and poorly, as it may be, that the thread of my tale has been woven, yet I hope I have now placed before you, in some sort of sequence, a history of ten years—a sad history to belong to any people. It has been a history full of crime, springing from hasty assumption of power by men who have inaptly used it. My Lords, I say it is a period of shame, and sad shame, and it is a period that surely Irishmen—patriotic Irishmen—must now be, and ever will be, bitterly regretting.

Ireland has had dark and bitter days in her past. There are times when her men—her brave men—have fought in the open field, have fallen and have failed. Her statesmen, her eloquent statesmen, have been silent in their sadness as in the days when we are told :

Gratton and Charlemont wept with her sorrow.

But I know not that ever till now Irishmen have had cause to be ashamed of the history of their country.

My Lords, it is said that happy is the country that has no history. So it may be, and this I know, if men doubt the application of that trite statement to Ireland, that happy would it have been for a people, happy would it have been for those who acted, and for those who suffered if the events of the last ten years could be blotted out. No human hand can do so. The annihilation of events is impossible, and all that remains to do is, that faithful record shall be made of the acts of that time.

Such will be your duty. It may be—it doubtless will be—that all who have taken part in this inquiry, from you, my Lords, to the humblest officer of this court,

will receive some condemnation, some attack, and some obloquy. But let that pass. The awakened conscience will be aroused from the dreams of a long night, and when awake they will despise their dreams, they will seek new modes of action, with true men to guide them, and then it will be—God grant it may be—that blessings will be poured on a happy and a contented people.

JOHN RANDOLPH, 1773-1833

American politician and orator. Born at Cawsons, Chesterfield County, Virginia, June 2nd, 1773. He claimed to be a descendant in the seventh remove from Pocahontas.

WAR WITH ENGLAND

I AM gratified to find gentlemen acknowledging the demoralising and destructive consequences of the non-importation law; confessing the truth of all that its opponents foretold when it was enacted. And will you plunge yourselves in war, because you have passed a foolish and ruinous law, and are ashamed to repeal it? "But our good friend, the French Emperor, stands in the way of its repeal, and we cannot go too far in making sacrifices to him, who has given such demonstration of his love for the Americans; we must, in point of fact, become parties to his war. Who can be so cruel as to refuse him that favour?" My imagination shrinks from the miseries of such a connection. I call upon the House to reflect, whether they are not about to abandon all reclamation for the unparalleled outrages, "insults, and injuries" of the French Government; to give up our claim for plundered millions; and I ask what reparation or atonement they can expect to obtain in hours of future dalliance, after they shall have made a tender of their person to this great deflowerer of the virginity of republics? We have, by our own wise (I will not say wiseacre) measures, so increased the trade and wealth of Montreal and Quebec, that at last we begin to cast a wistful eye at Canada. Having done so much towards its improvement, by the exercise of "our restrictive energies," we begin to think the labourer worthy of his hire, and to put in a claim for our portion. Suppose it ours, are we any nearer to our point? As his Minister said to the King of Epirus, "May we not as well take our bottle of wine before as after this exploit?" Go! march to Canada! leave the broad bosom of the Chesapeake and her hundred tributary rivers; the whole line of sea-coast from Machias to St. Mary's, unprotected! You have taken Quebec—have you conquered England? Will you seek for the deep foundations of her power in the frozen deserts of Labrador?

Her march is on the mountain wave,  
Her home is on the deep!

Will you call upon her to leave your ports and harbours untouched only just till you can return from Canada to defend them? The coast is to be left defenceless, while men of the interior are revelling in conquest and spoil. . . .

Against whom are these charges brought? Against men, who in the war of the Revolution were in the councils of the nation, or fighting the battles of your country. And by whom are they made? By runaways chiefly from the British dominions, since the breaking out of the French troubles. It is insufferable. It cannot be borne. It must and ought, with severity, to be put down in this House; and out of it to meet the lie direct. We have no fellow-feeling for the suffering and oppressed Spaniards! Yet even them we do not reprobate. Strange that we should have no objection to any other people or government, civilised or savage, in the whole world! The great autocrat of all the Russias receives the homage of our high consideration. The Dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates are very civil,

good sort of people, with whom we find no difficulty in maintaining the relations of peace and amity. "Turks, Jews, and infidels"; Melimelli or the Little Turtle; barbarians and savages of every clime and colour are welcome to our arms. With chiefs of banditti, negro or mulatto, we can treat and trade.

Name, however, but England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her. Against whom? Against those whose blood runs in our veins; in common with whom, we claim Shakespeare, and Newton, and Chatham for our countrymen; whose form of government is the freest on earth, our own only excepted; from whom every valuable principle of our own institutions has been borrowed—representation, jury trial, voting the supplies, writ of *habeas corpus*, our whole civil and criminal jurisprudence—against our fellow-Protestants, identified in blood, in language, in religion with ourselves. In what school did the worthies of our land, the Washingtons, Henrys, Hancocks, Franklins, Rutledges of America, learn those principles of civil liberty which were so nobly asserted by their wisdom and valour? American resistance to British usurpation has not been more warmly cherished by these great men and their compatriots; not more by Washington, Hancock, and Henry than by Chatham and his illustrious associates in the British Parliament. It ought to be remembered, too, that the heart of the English people was with us. It was a selfish and corrupt Ministry, and their servile tools, to whom we were not more opposed than they were. I trust that none such may ever exist among us; for tools will never be wanting to subserve the purposes, however ruinous or wicked, of kings and ministers of state.

I acknowledge the influence of a Shakespeare and a Milton upon my imagination, of a Locke upon my understanding, of a Sidney upon my political principles, of a Chatham upon qualities which, would to God I possessed in common with that illustrious man! of a Tillotson, a Sherlock, and a Porteus upon my religion. This is a British influence which I can never shake off. I allow much to the just and honest prejudices growing out of the Revolution. But by whom have they been suppressed, when they ran counter to the interests of my country? By Washington. By whom, would you listen to them, are they most keenly felt? By felons escaped from the gaols of Paris, Newgate, and Kilmainham, since the breaking out of the French Revolution: who, in this abused and insulted country, have set up for political teachers, and whose disciples give no other proof of their progress in republicanism, except a blind devotion to the most ruthless military despotism that the world ever saw. These are the patriots who scruple not to brand with the epithet of Tory the men (looking toward the seat of Colonel Stewart) by whose blood your liberties have been cemented. These are they who hold in such keen remembrance the outrages of the British armies, from which many of them are deserters. Ask these self-styled patriots where they were during the American war (for they are, for the most part, old enough to have borne arms), and you strike them dumb; their lips are closed in eternal silence. If it were allowable to entertain partialities, every consideration of blood, language, religion, and interest would incline us toward England: and yet, shall they alone be extended to France and her ruler, whom we are bound to believe a chastening God suffers as the scourge of a guilty world! On all other nations he tramples; he holds them in contempt; England alone he hates; he would, but he cannot, despise her; fear cannot despise; and shall we disparage our ancestors?

But the outrages and injuries of England—bred up in the principles of the Revolution—I can never palliate, much less defend them. I well remember flying, with my mother and her new-born child, from Arnold and Philips; and we were driven by Tarleton and other British Pandours from pillar to post, while her husband was

fighting the battles of his country. The impression is indelible on my memory, and yet (like my worthy old neighbour, who added seven buckshot to every cartridge at the battle of Guilford, and drew fine sight at his man) I must be content to be called a Tory by a patriot of the last importation. Let us not get rid of one evil (supposing it possible) at the expense of a greater; *mutatis mutandis*, suppose France in possession of the British naval power—and to her the trident must pass should England be unable to wield it—what would be your condition? What would be the situation of your seaports, and their seafaring inhabitants? Ask Hamburg, Lubeck! Ask Savannah! . . .

Shall republicans become the instruments of him who has effaced the title of Attila to the "Scourge of God"? Yet even Attila, in the falling fortunes of civilisation, had, no doubt, his advocates, his tools, his minions, his parasites, in the very countries that he overran; sons of that soil whereon his horse had trod; where grass could never after grow. If perfectly fresh, instead of being as I am, my memory clouded, my intellect stupefied, my strength and spirits exhausted, I could not give utterance to that strong detestation which I feel toward (above all other works of Creation) such characters as Gengiz, Tamerlane, Kouli-Khan, or Bonaparte. My instincts involuntarily revolt at their bare idea. Malefactors of the human race, who have ground down man to a mere machine of their impious and bloody ambition! Yet under all the accumulated wrongs, and insults, and robberies of the last of these chieftains, are we not, in point of fact, about to become a party to his views, a partner in his wars? . . .

I call upon those professing to be republicans to make good the promises held out by their republican predecessors when they came into power; promises which, for years afterward, they honestly, faithfully fulfilled. We have vaunted of paying off the national debt, of retrenching useless establishments; and yet have now become as infatuated with standing armies, loans, taxes, navies, and war as ever were the Essex Junco!—*From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Dec. 10th, 1811.*

## DANIEL WEBSTER, 1782-1852

American statesman.

### ON THE AMERICAN UNION

MR. PRESIDENT, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation, such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing once more my deep conviction that, since it respects nothing less than the union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, Sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honour of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration

has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings ; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below ; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise ! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind ! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonoured fragments of a once glorious Union ; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent ; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood ! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honoured throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as " What is all this worth ? " nor those other words of delusion and folly, " Liberty first and Union afterwards " ; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable !

#### LORD MACAULAY, 1800–1859

Historian, statesman, and essayist. Born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in 1826. His literary career had some twelve months previously opened with his first contribution to the *Edinburgh Review*—the essay on Milton. His appointment as a Commissioner in Bankruptcy was followed by his election to Parliament as member for Calne. Some brilliant speeches, notably on the Reform question, secured him at once a high place in the House, and surprise was expressed when in 1834 he accepted an appointment in India as legal member of the Supreme Council. Returning to England after valuable and enduring work in connection with the preparation of the Indian Code, he re-entered political life, and in 1839 was appointed Secretary for War and elected to represent Edinburgh in Parliament. In 1846 he became Paymaster of the Forces, but losing his seat for Edinburgh in the following year he for several years devoted his energies mainly to literary work. He was re-elected member for Edinburgh in 1852, and continued to represent that city until his elevation to the peerage, which occurred in 1857. His remaining years were chiefly devoted to the preparation of his "History of England," the last of the five volumes of which was not published until after his death. His oratorical gifts were considerable, but his speeches were marred in delivery by defects of style and a bewildering rapidity of utterance.

#### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

SIR, I have always had the happiness of living under the protection of the law of England, and therefore I am utterly unable to imagine what could be worse. But though I have a slender knowledge, I have a large faith. I am by no means so pre-

sumptuous as a West Indian judicature ; and since the colonists solemnly assure us that a jury of their own body not only possibly might, but necessarily must, have acted with more violence and injustice than this court-martial, I certainly shall not pretend to dispute the assertion, although I am utterly at a loss to conceive the mode.

Therefore, Sir, I am warranted, by the confession of our opponents, in saying that this system ought not to stand ; and, thank God ! by the character of the British people I am warranted in saying that this system cannot stand. England cannot long tolerate it, without renouncing her claim to her highest and most peculiar distinction. She has, indeed, much in which to glory. She may boast of her ancient laws, of her magnificent literature, of her long list of maritime and military triumphs ; she may boast of the vast extent and security of her Empire ; but she has still a higher praise. It is her peculiar glory, not that she has ruled only to bless, and conquered only to spare ! Her mightiest Empire is that of her morals, her language, and her laws ; her proudest victories, those she has achieved over ferocity and ignorance ; her most durable trophies, those she has erected in the hearts of civilised and liberated nations. The strong moral feeling of the English people, their hatred of injustice, their disposition to make every sacrifice rather than participate in crime—these have long been their glory, their strength, their safety ! I trust that they will long be so. I trust that Englishmen will feel on this occasion, as on so many other occasions they have felt, that the policy which justice and mercy recommend is that which can alone secure the happiness of nations and the stability of thrones.

It is surely delightful, Sir, to look forward to that period when a series of liberal and prudent measures shall have delivered islands, so highly favoured by the bounty of Providence, from the curse inflicted on them by the frantic rapacity of man. Then the peasant of the Antilles will no longer crawl, in listless and trembling dejection, around a plantation from whose fruits he must derive no advantage, and a hut whose door yields him no protection ; he will return with the firm step and erect brow of a British citizen from the field which is his freehold to the house which is his castle. Then those regions where civilisation has displayed only its strength will exhibit also the fruits of its wisdom and its mercy—arts, sciences, letters, equal laws, benevolent institutions, the temples of a pure religion, the marts of a legitimate commerce, tribunals where justice may be expected, even by a negro or a missionary, senates where liberal sentiments and decorous phraseology will have succeeded to the doctrines and language of buccaneers ! I cannot think these anticipations chimerical when I reflect on the past condition of our own country, and on the interesting and pathetic event to which, in a great measure, it owes its present blessings. In an Italian slave-market, a priest observed some children of exquisite beauty exposed for sale. He asked whence they came ; he was told from England. His heart burned within him ; he pitied the misery and degradation of a distant people. As soon as he was raised to the Papal throne, he instantly took measures for introducing into this island the Christian religion, and all the moral and political blessings by which that religion has ever been accompanied. We are not exactly informed of the difficulties which he had to encounter, but we know that in every age human nature is the same ; that in every age it is through hatred and obloquy that the path lies to virtue and to glory. There were, probably, grave statesmen to suggest that the work of amelioration had better be left to the Wittenagemotes of the Heptarchy. No doubt there were slaveholders who protested that their slaves faced more sumptuously than the King of the Lombards. The statue of Pasquin was not then standing in Rome ; but then,



doubtless, there were not wanting wits to deride his enthusiasm and liars to asperse his character. It is not impossible that there may have been found ruffians to pull down his chapels, and forsworn judges to send his missionaries to the gallows. However this may have been, we know that he persevered ; and now look at the result ! Now look at the miserable, the degraded country, the land of the oppressor and the oppressed ! There is freedom in the respiration of its air, and in the very contact of its soil ! Now look at that ocean which then bore to our coast nothing but plunderers, and carried back from it nothing but cargoes of misery and despair. That very ocean now rolls around us at once to enrich and defend—at once renders our coast everywhere accessible to commerce, and everywhere impervious to war. Look at our maritime power, at our commercial opulence, at our martial glory, at the proud list of our great men ; and then reflect from what we were raised, and by what means. These things should inspire us with hope, and not with hope alone. Do we owe so many blessings to the generosity of an ignorant priest in a dark age and a distant country ? and shall not we, who live in the full blaze of morals and intellect, exert ourselves for the welfare of those over whose fate we possess an irresistible control, and in whose wrongs we have most deeply participated ?

Again, therefore, and again we pledge ourselves to this good cause. Danger, difficulty, and opposition shall only animate us to the work. We will consider every success as a presage of final triumph ; every failure as a call for redoubled exertions. Slander, enmity, ridicule we expect and we despise. When the crusader in Tasso lifts his sword to break the enchantment of the haunted forest, gigantic forms surround him, terrible voices menace him, the wind roars, the skies are darkened, the earth shakes beneath his feet ; but the blow is struck, and instantly the sun shines forth, the storm subsides, and the demons fly howling from the spot which they could pollute no longer. We are bound on a higher adventure—we are sworn to undo the spell of a fouler witchcraft ; and it is not by any tempest which the worst arts of our adversaries can conjure up that we will be turned back from the enterprise. Never, never shall this contest be terminated but by a decisive victory of those principles of honour, benevolence, and freedom from which alone States can derive a substantial prosperity and statesmen an immortal renown !—*From a Speech delivered on June 25th. 1824, at a meeting of the Society for the Mitigation and Abolition of Slavery at Freemasons' Hall.*

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

Turn where we may—within, around—the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, “Reform, that you may preserve.” Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age ; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears ; now, while the roof of a British palace affords an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings ; now, while we see on every side ancient institutions subverted, and great societies dissolved ; now, while the heart of England is still sound ; now, while the old feelings and the old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away ; now, in this your accepted time ; now, in this your day of salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. Pronounce in a manner worthy of the expectation with which this great debate has been anticipated, and of the long remembrance which it will leave behind. Renew the youth of the State. Save property divided against itself.

Save the multitude, endangered by their own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilised community that ever existed, from calamities which may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible. The time is short. If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing regret, amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on July 5th, 1831, on the Second Reading of the First Reform Bill.*

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In the present state of our Indian Empire I see ample reason for exultation and for a good hope. I see that we have established order where we found confusion. I see that the petty dynasties which were generated by the corruption of the great Mahometan Empire, and which, a century ago, kept all India in constant agitation, have been quelled by one overwhelming power. I see that the predatory tribes who, in the middle of the last century, passed annually over the harvests of India with the destructive rapidity of a hurricane, have quailed before the valour of a braver and sterner race—have been vanquished, scattered, hunted to their strongholds, and either exterminated by the English sword, or compelled to exchange the pursuits of rapine for those of industry.

I look back for many years, and I can see scarcely a trace of the vices which blemished the splendid fame of the first conquerors of Bengal. I see peace studiously preserved. I see faith inviolably maintained towards feeble and dependent States. I see confidence gradually infused into the minds of suspicious neighbours. I see the horrors of war mitigated by the chivalrous and Christian spirit of Europe. I see examples of moderation and clemency, such as I should seek in vain in the annals of any other victorious and dominant nation. I see captive tyrants, whose treachery and cruelty might have excused a severe retribution, living in security, comfort, and dignity, under the protection of the Government which they laboured to destroy.

I see a large body of civil and military functionaries resembling in nothing but capacity and valour those adventurers who, seventy years ago, came hither, laden with wealth and infamy, to parade before our fathers the plundered treasures of Bengal and Tanjore. I reflect with pride that to the doubtful splendour which surrounds the memory of Hastings and of Clive, we can oppose the spotless glory of Elphinstone and Monro. I observe with reverence and delight the honourable poverty which is the evidence of a rectitude firmly maintained amidst strong temptations. I rejoice to see my countrymen, after ruling millions of subjects, after commanding victorious armies, after dictating terms of peace at the gates of hostile capitals, after administering the revenues of great provinces, after judging the causes of wealthy Zemindars, after residing at the courts of tributary kings, return to their native land with no more than a decent competence.

I see a Government anxiously bent on the public good. Even in its errors I recognise a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge. I see toleration strictly maintained. Yet I see bloody and degrading superstitions gradually losing their power. I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste of Europe, beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understandings of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny

expanding itself to just and noble views of the ends of Government, and of the social duties of man.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on July 10th, 1833, on the Second Reading of the East India Company's Charter Bill.*

#### THE DESTINIES OF INDIA

The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system ; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an Empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism ; that Empire is the imperishable Empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons, July 10th, 1833.*

#### IRELAND AND THE EMPIRE

While the present system is pursued in Ireland it is impossible that she can be peaceable ; and until Ireland is peaceable, the British Empire cannot enjoy her full power and proper dignity. The accordance of all classes is necessary to her strength, and her dignity is identical with her security. In every negotiation, whether with France on the Right of Search, or with America on the Boundary, while Ireland continues discontented, that fact will be uppermost in the minds of the diplomatists on both sides ; and while it restrains and cripples the one, it will embolden and invigorate the other.

Such must be the necessary and inevitable consequence. This is indeed a great, a splendid, a mighty Empire, well provided with means of annoyance and with weapons of defence. She can do many things which are far beyond the power of any other nation in the world ; she dictated peace to China, she governs Australasia, and she rules Caffraria. Should occasion again arise, she could sweep from the surface of the ocean the commerce of the world, and, as formerly, blockade the ports, and spread her triumphant flag from the Baltic to the Adriatic. She is able to maintain her Indian Empire against every threatened hostility, whether by land or sea ; but amidst all this vast mass of power there is one vulnerable point—one spot unguarded—and that spot nearest to her heart ; a spot at which, forty-five years ago, a deadly, happily not a fatal, blow was aimed. The Government and Parliament, each in its sphere, is deeply responsible for the continuance of such a lamentable state of things ; and, for my part of that responsibility, I intend to clear myself by the vote I shall give in favour of the motion of my noble friend, and I trust that I shall find with me so large and respectable a body of members of this

House, as shall satisfy the Irish Catholics that they still have friends in England, and that they need not yet relinquish all hope of protection from the wisdom and justice of an Imperial Parliament.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons, February 19th, 1844.*

THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION ON THE SCOTCH

As the south of this island has furnished me with one argument, so the north will furnish me with another. We see there a people of ancient lineage, sprung from the same blood, and speaking, with some diversities, the same language, who separated themselves from the See of Rome at the same great emancipation of the human mind; united under one sovereign; joining in a series of revolts; and then united in one legislature and nation, striving for the good and the welfare of both. Yet there is one great difference. England for many ages has been the richest and the most prosperous among the civilised countries of the world; whilst all men know that Scotland was almost at the bottom, if not quite at the bottom, of nations that have known civilisation. It is known that a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago the names of Scotland and Scotchmen were words uttered with contempt, and that great statesmen and patriots looked with despair on the state of the lower orders. We have already heard this session of Fletcher of Saltoun. It was at the end of the seventeenth century that Fletcher of Saltoun, a brave and able man, who fought and suffered for liberty, was so overwhelmed with the spectacle of misery his country presented, that he actually published a pamphlet in which he proposed the institution of personal slavery in Scotland, as the only way to compel the common people to work. Within two months after the appearance of the pamphlet of Fletcher, the Parliament of Scotland passed, in 1696, an Act for the settlement of schools. Has the whole world given us such an instance of improvement as that which took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century? In a short time, in spite of the inclemency of the air and the sterility of the soil, Scotland became a country which had no reason to envy any part of the world, however richly gifted by Nature; and remember that Scotchmen did this; and that wherever a Scotchman went—and there were few places he did not go to—he carried with him signs of the moral and intellectual cultivation he had received. If he had a shop, he had the best trade in the street; if he enlisted in the army, he soon became a non-commissioned officer. Not that the Scotchman changed; there was no change in the man. For a hundred years before, Scotchmen of the lower classes were spoken of in London as you speak of the Esquimaux; but such was the difference when this system of State education had been in force for only one generation, the language of contempt was at an end, and that of envy succeeded. Then the complaint was that, wherever the Scotchman came, he got more than his share; and that when he mixed with Englishmen and Irishmen, he rose as regularly to the top as oil rises on water.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons, April 19th, 1847.*

LITERARY COPYRIGHT\*

It is the law of our nature that the mind shall attain its full power by slow degrees, and this is especially true of the most vigorous minds. Young men, no doubt,

\* The speech from which these passages are extracted was one of the most successful that Macaulay made in Parliament. It was delivered in opposition to a bill brought in by Lord Mahon to extend the period of copyright to twenty-five years from the death of the author. Such was the impression created by Macaulay's reasoned eloquence that the opinion of the House was completely won over to his side. With a few slight alterations his plan was adopted, and it remains to this day the basis of the law of literary copyright.

have often produced works of great merit ; but it would be impossible to name any writer of the first order whose juvenile performances were his best. That all the most valuable books of history, of philology, of physical and metaphysical science, of divinity, of political economy, have been produced by men of mature years, will hardly be disputed. The case may not be quite so clear as respects works of the imagination. And yet I know no work of the imagination of the very highest class that was ever, in any age or country, produced by a man under thirty-five. Whatever powers a youth may have received from Nature, it is impossible that his taste and judgment can be ripe, that his mind can be richly stored with images, that he can have observed the vicissitudes of life, that he can have studied the nicer shades of character. How, as Marmontel very sensibly said, is a person to paint portraits who has never seen faces ? On the whole, I believe that I may, without fear of contradiction, affirm this, that of the good books now extant in the world, more than nineteen-twentieths were published after the writers had attained the age of forty. If this be so, it is evident that the plan of my noble friend is framed on a vicious principle. For, while he gives to juvenile productions a very much larger protection than they now enjoy, he does comparatively little for the works of men in the full maturity of their powers, and absolutely nothing for any work which is published during the last three years of the life of the writer. For, by the existing law, the copyright of such a work lasts twenty-eight years from the publication ; and my noble friend gives only twenty-five years, to be reckoned from the writer's death.

What I recommend is that the certain term, reckoned from the date of publication, shall be forty-two years instead of twenty-eight years. In this arrangement there is no uncertainty, no inequality. The advantage which I propose to give will be the same to every book. No work will have so long a copyright as my noble friend gives to some books, or so short a copyright as he gives to others. No copyright will last ninety years. No copyright will end in twenty-eight years. To every book published in the course of the last seventeen years of a writer's life I give a longer term of copyright than my noble friend gives ; and I am confident that no person versed in literary history will deny this—that in general the most valuable works of an author are published in the course of the last seventeen years of his life. I will rapidly enumerate a few, and but a few, of the great works of English writers to which my plan is more favourable than my noble friend's plan. To "*Lear*," to "*Macbeth*," to "*Othello*," to the "*Faëry Queen*," to the "*Paradise Lost*," to Bacon's "*Novum Organum*," and "*De Augmentis*," to Locke's "*Essay on the Human Understanding*," to Clarendon's "*History*," to Hume's "*History*," to Gibbon's "*History*," to Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*," to Addison's "*Spectators*," to almost all the great works of Burke, to "*Clarissa*," and "*Sir Charles Grandison*," to "*Joseph Andrews*," "*Tom Jones*," and "*Amelia*," and, with the single exception of "*Waverley*," to all the novels of Sir Walter Scott, I give a longer term of copyright than my noble friend gives. Can he match that list ? Does not that list contain what England has produced greatest in many various ways—poetry, philosophy, history, eloquence, wit, skilful portraiture of life and manners ? I confidently, therefore, call on the committee to take my plan in preference to the plan of my noble friend. I have shown that the protection which he proposes to give to letters is unequal, and unequal in the worst way. I have shown that his plan is to give protection to books in inverse proportion to their merit. I shall move, when we come to the third clause of the Bill, to omit the words "twenty-five years," and in a subsequent part of the same clause I shall move to substitute for the words "twenty-eight years," the words

"forty-two years." I earnestly hope the committee will adopt these amendments; and I feel the firmest conviction that my noble friend's Bill, so amended, will confer a great boon on men of letters, with the smallest possible inconvenience to the public.—*Speech in the House of Commons, on April 16th, 1842.*

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, 1813-1861

American politician. Born at Brandon, Rutland Co., Vermont. Died at Chicago, June 3rd, 1861.

THE AMERICAN WAR OF SECESSION

I AM not insensible to the patriotic motives which prompted you to do me the honour to invite me to address you, on this occasion, upon the momentous issues now presented in the condition of the country. With a heart filled with sadness and grief I comply with your request.

For the first time since the adoption of this Federal Constitution a widespread conspiracy exists to destroy the best Government the sun of heaven ever shed its rays upon. Hostile armies are now marching upon the Federal Capitol with a view of planting a revolutionary flag upon its dome. . . . The boast has gone forth by the Secretary of War of this revolutionary Government that on the first day of May the revolutionary flag shall float from the walls of the Capitol of Washington, and that on the fourth day of July the revolutionary army shall hold possession of the Hall of Independence. The simple question presented to us is whether we will wait for the enemy to carry out this boast of making war on our soil, or whether we will rush as one man to the defence of this Government, and its Capitol, to defend it from the hands of all assailants who have threatened it. Already the piratical flag has been unfurled against the commerce of the United States. Letters of marque have been issued, appealing to the pirates of the world to assemble under that revolutionary flag, and commit depredations on the commerce carried on under the stars and stripes. Hostile batteries have been planted upon its fortresses; Custom-houses have been established; and we are required now to pay tribute and taxes without having a voice in making the laws imposing them, or having a share in the distribution of them after they have been collected. The question is whether this war of aggression shall proceed, and we remain with folded arms inactive spectators, or whether we shall meet the aggressors at the threshold and turn back the tide. . . .

While all the States of this Union, and every citizen of every State has a priceless legacy dependent upon the success of our efforts to maintain this Government, we in the great valley of the Mississippi have peculiar interests and inducements to the struggle. What is the attempt now being made? Seven States of this Union choose to declare that they will no longer obey the behest of the United States, that they will withdraw from the Government established by our fathers, that they will dissolve, without our consent, the bonds that have united us together. But, not content with that, they proceed to invade and obstruct our dearest and most inalienable rights, secured to us by the Constitution. One of their first acts is to establish a battery of cannon upon the banks of the Mississippi, on the dividing line between the States of Mississippi and Tennessee, and require every steamer that passes down the river to come to under a gun, to receive a Custom-house officer on board, to prescribe where the boat may land, and upon what terms it may put a barrel of flour or a cask of bacon, to cut off our freedom of trade upon the river and on the borders of those States.

We are called on to sanction this policy. Before consenting to their right to commit such acts, I implore you to consider that the same principle which will allow the cotton States to exclude us from the ports of the Gulf, would authorise the New England States and New York and Pennsylvania to exclude us from the Atlantic, and the Pacific States to exclude us from the ports of that ocean. Whenever you sanction this doctrine of secession, you authorise the States bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, to withdraw from us, form alliances among themselves, and exclude us from the markets of the world and from communication with all the rest of Christendom. Not only this, but there follows a tariff of duties on imports, the levying of taxes on every pound of tea and coffee and sugar and every yard of cloth that we may import for our consumption; the levying, too, of an export duty upon every pound of meal and every bushel of corn that we may choose to send to the markets of the world to pay for our imports. Bear in mind that these very cotton States, who in former times have been so boisterous in their demands for free trade, have among their first acts established an export duty on cotton for the first time in American history.

It is an historical fact, well known to every man who has read the debates of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, that the Southern States refused to become parties to the Constitution unless there was an express provision in the Constitution forbidding Congress to levy an export duty on any product of the earth. No sooner have these cotton States seceded than an export duty is levied: and, if they will levy it on their cotton, do you not think that they will levy it on our pork and on our beef, and on our corn and our wheat, and our manufactured articles, and on all we have to sell? Then what is the proposition? It is to enable the tier of States bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific, and on the Gulf, surrounding us on all sides, to withdraw from our Union, form alliances among themselves, and then levy taxes on us without our consent, and collect revenue without giving us any just proportion of all the amount collected. Can we submit to taxation without representation? Can we permit nations foreign to us to collect revenues out of our produce, out of the fruit of our industry? I ask the citizens of Illinois, I ask every citizen in the great basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, in the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri, to tell me whether he is willing to sanction a line of policy that may isolate us from the markets of the world, and make us provinces dependent on the powers that thus choose to isolate us?

I warn you, my countrymen, that whenever you permit this to be done in the Southern States, New York, that great port, where two-thirds of our revenue are collected and whence two-thirds of our goods are exported, will not long be able to resist the temptation of taxing fifteen millions of people in the great West, when she can thus monopolise the resources, and release her own people from any taxation whatever. . . . Come what may, war, if it must be, though I deplore it as a great calamity, yet, come what may, the people of the Mississippi valley can never consent to be excluded from free access to the ports of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf of Mexico. I am not prepared to take up arms, or to sanction a policy of our Government to take up arms, to make any war on the rights of the Southern States, on their institutions, on their rights of person or property, but, on the contrary, would rush to their defence and protect them from assault; but while that is the case I will never cease to urge my countrymen to take arms to fight to the death in defence of our indefeasible rights. Hence, if a war does come, it is a war of self-defence on our part. It is a war in defence of our own just rights, in defence of the Government which we have inherited as a

priceless legacy from our patriotic fathers, in defence of our great rights of freedom of trade, commerce, transit, and intercourse from the centre to the circumference of this great continent. These are rights we must struggle for and never surrender. . . .

I see no path of ambition open in a bloody struggle for triumphs over my countrymen. There is no path of ambition open to me in a divided country. Hence, whatever we do must be the result of duty, of conviction, of patriotic duty, the duty we owe to ourselves, to our posterity, and to the friends of constitutional liberty and self-government throughout the world.

My friends, I can say no more. To discuss these topics is the most painful duty of my life. It is with a sad heart, with a grief that I have never before experienced, that I have to contemplate this fearful struggle ; but I believe in my conscience that it is a duty we owe to ourselves, our children, and our God, to protect this Government and that flag from every assailant, be he who he may.—*Address to the Illinois Legislature, Springfield, Ills., April 25th, 1861.*

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809-1865.

American statesman. The sixteenth President of the United States. Born in Hardin County, Kentucky. After a chequered early life he was elected to Congress in 1834. He twice held office, his period of service coinciding with that of the great Civil War. He was shot by Wilkes Booth on April 14th, 1865, and expired on the following morning.

#### TRIBUTE TO FEDERAL VALOUR

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion ; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom ; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.—*Address at Gettysburgh, Nov. 19th. 1863.*

#### THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Fellow-countrymen,—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great



contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All readed it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it with war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came. One eighth of the whole population were coloured slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localised in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease when, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces ; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty had His own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him ? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be repaid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.—*Second Inaugural Address, March 4th, 1865.*

ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D., LL.D., 1773-1866

American divine and writer. Born at Ashford, Connecticut. Was President of the Union College for sixty years.

DUELLING\*

THE duellist contravenes the law of God not only but the law of man also. To the prohibition of the former have been added the sanctions of the latter. Life taken in a duel, by the common law, is murder. And where this is not the case, the giving and receiving of a challenge only is, by statute, considered a high misdemeanour, for which the principal and his second are declared infamous and disfranchised for twenty years. Under what accumulated circumstances of aggravation does the duellist jeopardise his own life, or take the life of his antagonist? I am sensible that, in a licentious age, and when laws are made to yield to the vices of those who move in the higher circles, this crime is called by I know not what mild and accommodating name. But before these altars, in this House of God, what is it? It is murder—deliberate, aggravated murder. If the duellist deny this, let him produce his warrant from the Author of life for taking away from His creature the life which had been sovereignly given. If he cannot do this, beyond all controversy, he is a murderer; for murder consists in taking away life without the permission, and contrary to the prohibition, of Him who gave it.

Who is it, then, that calls the duellist to the dangerous and deadly combat? Is it God? No; on the contrary, He forbids. Is it, then, his country? No; she also utters her prohibitory voice. Who is it, then? A man of honour. A man, perhaps, whose honour is a name; who prates, with polluted lips, about the sacredness of character, when his own is stained with crimes, and needs but the single shade of murder to complete the dismal and sickly picture. Every transgression of the divine law implies great guilt, because it is the transgression of infinite authority. But the crime of deliberately and lightly taking life has peculiar aggravations. It is a crime committed against the written law not only, but also against the dictates of reason, the remonstrances of conscience, and every tender and amiable feeling of the heart. To the unfortunate sufferer it is the wanton violation of his most sacred rights. It snatches him from his friends and his comforts; terminates his state of trial, and precipitates him, uncalled for, and perhaps unprepared, into the presence of his Judge.

You will say the duellist feels no malice. Be it so. Malice, indeed, is murder in principle. But there may be murder in reason, and in fact, where there is no malice. Some other unwarrantable passion of principle may lead to the unlawful taking of human life. The highwayman, who cuts the throat and rifles the pocket of the passing traveller, feels no malice. And could he, with equal ease and no greater danger of detection, have secured his booty without taking life, he would have stayed his arm over the palpitating bosom of his victim, and let the plundered suppliant pass. Would the imputation of cowardice have been inevitable to the duellist if a challenge had not been given or accepted? The imputation of want had been no less inevitable to the robber, if the money of the passing traveller had not been secured. Would the duellist have been willing to have spared the

\* An extract from a famous sermon preached by Dr. Nott on the text, "How are the mighty fallen." The sermon had special reference to a duel fought in 1804, in which a young man of great promise, Alexander Hamilton, fell a victim. The effect of Dr. Nott's pulpit eloquence was such that from that time forward duels were of rare occurrence in the Northern States.

life of his antagonist if the point of honour could otherwise have been gained ? So would the robber if the point of property could have been. Who can say that the motives of the one are not as urgent as the motives of the other ? And the means by which both obtain the object of their wishes are the same. Thus, according to the dictates of reason, as well as the law of God, the highwayman and the duellist stand on ground equally untenable, and support their guilty havoc of the human race by arguments equally fallacious.

Is duelling guilty ? So it is absurd. It is absurd as a punishment, for it admits of no proportion to crimes ; and besides, virtue and vice, guilt and innocence, are equally exposed to it, to death or suffering. As a reparation it is still more absurd, for it makes the injured liable to a still greater injury. And as the vindication of personal character it is absurd even beyond madness.

One man of honour, by some inadvertence, or perhaps with design, injures the sensibility of another man of honour. In perfect character, the injured gentleman resents it. He challenges the offender. The offender accepts the challenge. The time is fixed. The place is agreed upon. The circumstances, with an air of solemn mania, are arranged ; and the principals, with their seconds and surgeons, retire under the cover of some solitary hill, or upon the margin of some unfrequented beach, to settle this important question of honour, by stabbing or shooting at each other. One, or the other, or both parties, fall in this gentleman-like contest. And what does this prove ? It proves that one or the other, or both of them, as the case may be, are marksmen. But it affords no evidence that either of them possesses honour, probity, or talents. It is true that he who falls in single combat has the honour of being murdered ; and he who takes his life the honour of a murderer. Besides this, I know not of any glory that can redound to the infatuated combatants, except it be what results from having extended the circle of wretched widows, and added to the number of hapless orphans. And yet terminate as it will, this frantic meeting, by a kind of magic influence, entirely varnishes over a defective and smutty character ; transforms vice to virtue, cowardice to courage ; makes falsehood, truth ; guilt, innocence—in one word, it gives a new complexion to the whole state of things. The Ethiopian changes his skin, and the leopard his spot, and the debauched and treacherous, having shot away the infamy of a sorry life, comes back to the field of perfectibility, quite regenerated, and, in the fullest sense, an honourable man. He is now fit for the company of gentlemen. He is admitted to that company, and should he again, by acts of vileness, stain this purity of character so nobly acquired, and should any one have the effrontery to say he has done so, again he stands ready to vindicate his honour, and by another act of homicide to wipe away the stain which has been attached to it. . . .

Ah, ye tragic shores of Hoboken, grimed with the richest blood ! I tremble at the crimes you record against us—the annual register of murders which you keep and send up to God ! Place of inhuman cruelty ! beyond the limits of reason, of duty, and of religion, where man assumes a more barbarous nature, and ceases to be man ? What poignant, lingering sorrows do thy lawless combats occasion to surviving relatives ! Ye who have hearts of pity—ye who have experienced the anguish of dissolving friendship—who have wept, and still weep, over the mouldering ruins of departed kindred, ye can enter into this reflection.

“ How are the mighty fallen ! ” And, regardless as we are of vulgar deaths, shall not the fall of the mighty affect us ? A short time since, and he who is the occasion of our sorrows was the ornament of his country. He stood on an eminence, and glory covered him. From that eminence he has fallen, suddenly,

for ever fallen. His intercourse with the living world is now ended ; and those who would hereafter find him must seek him in the grave. . . . Approach and behold, while I lift from his sepulchre its covering ! Ye admirers of his greatness, ye emulous of his talents and his fame, approach and behold him now. How pale ! How silent ! No martial bands admire the adroitness of his movements ; no fascinated throng weep, and melt, and tremble at his eloquence ! Amazing change ! A shroud ! a coffin ! a narrow, subterraneous cabin ! This is all that now remains of Hamilton ! And is this all that remains of *him* ? During a life so transitory, what lasting monument, then, can our fondest hopes erect ?

My brethren ! we stand on the borders of an awful gulf, which is swallowing up all things human. And is there, amidst this universal wreck, nothing stable, nothing abiding, nothing immortal, on which poor, frail, dying man can fasten ? Ask the hero, ask the statesman, whose wisdom you have been accustomed to revere, and he will tell you. He will tell you, did I say ? He has already told you from his death-bed, and his illumined spirit still whispers from the heavens the solemn admonition :

" Mortals ! hastening to the tomb, and once the companion of my pilgrimage, take warning and avoid my errors ; cultivate the virtues I have recommended ; choose the Saviour I have chosen ; live disinterestedly ; live for immortality ; and would you rescue anything from final dissolution, lay it up in God."—*From a Sermon preached on July 9th, 1804, at the Presbyterian Church, Albany, N.Y.*

#### EDWARD GEOFFREY STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY, 1799-1869

Statesman. Born at Knowsley, he was educated at Eton and Christchurch, Oxford. Entered Parliament in 1821 as member for Stockbridge. He first held ministerial office under Canning, being appointed Under Secretary for the Colonies. After occupying other minor positions he was in 1841 selected to fill the Colonial Secretaryship in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry. In 1852 he was called upon himself to form an Administration. Twice subsequently, in 1858 and 1866, he filled the Premiership. His oratorical gifts were remarkable. They are celebrated in Lord Lytton's well-known lines in *The New Timon*, in which Lord Stanley as he then was is described as

" The brilliant chief, irregularly great,  
Frank, haughty, rash, the Rupert of Debate."

#### THE ARISTOCRACY

Do not mistake me when I speak of the aristocracy. I do not speak exclusively or mainly of that body which I have now the honour to address. I speak, my Lords, of the great body of the landed proprietors of this country. I speak of men unennobled by rank, and many of them undistinguished by great wealth, but who, and their ancestors before them, for generations after generations, have been the centre, each of his respective locality, who have the prestige of old associations attached to their names ; who conduct the business of their respective counties ; who influence the opinions and feelings of their respective neighbourhoods ; who exercise a vast hospitality, and preside over a tenantry which has hereditary claims upon their considerations and affections. My Lords, these are the aristocracy of the country to which I allude. Reduce these men and you inflict an irretrievable and irreparable injury upon the country. Lower them in the scale, and you have deranged the social machine beyond the power of correction. God forbid that the successful manufacturer or that the princely merchant should not take his place among the landed aristocracy of this country ; such infusions add fresh vigour and power to that class of the community. But, depend upon it,

if you sweep that class away at once, with all the associations attached to their names, their families, and their histories, and the previous associations which belong to the character of their families, and substitute a new body of capitalists, to come amidst an unattached tenantry, and a neighbourhood where no associations are connected with their names, their moral influence and effect will be irretrievably lost. Now, destroy this principle of Protection, and I tell you in this place that you destroy the whole basis upon which your Colonial system rests. My Lords, if you do not know the advantages of your Colonies, Napoleon Bonaparte knew them well. It is by your Colonial system, based upon the principles of Protection, that you have extended your arms—I do not mean your military arms, but your commercial arms—to every quarter and to every corner of the globe. It is to your Colonial system that you owe it that there is not a sea on which the flag of England does not float; and there is not a quarter of the globe that there is no zone in either hemisphere in which there are not thousands who recognise the sovereignty of Britain, to whom that language and that flag speak of a home, dear though distant, of common interests, of common affections; men who share in your glories, men who sympathise in your adversities, men who are proud to bear their share of your burdens, to be embraced within the arms of your commercial policy, and to feel that they are members of your great and imperial Zollverein.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords on May 25th, 1846.*

#### DEFENCE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION

I believe that the preservation of the public peace of Europe, if it is still to be maintained, will be seriously endangered by any change in the present composition of her Majesty's Government. My Lords, I speak this not boastfully as to myself and my colleagues, but I know that there is no country in Europe in which the lovers of peace do not look with serious apprehensions to the overthrow of the present Government and the substitution of a Government presided over either by the noble viscount the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston) or the noble lord the member for the City of London (Lord John Russell). My Lords, we are not insensible to the inconvenience of a dissolution at the present moment, to the delay which it will cause in the conduct of public business, to the various evils which are inseparable from a dissolution of Parliament at this season of the year; but, believing that it is essential that the country should have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion, and of applying, at the earliest possible opportunity, a remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things, we thought it our duty respectfully to tender our advice to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to sanction as early a dissolution of Parliament as shall be compatible with the state of public business; and, if her Majesty should not be pleased to approve of that suggestion, we humbly and unanimously tendered to her Majesty the resignation of the offices we held. Though not insensible to the inconvenience of either course, her Majesty graciously intimated her pleasure that we should continue to hold our offices, and her Majesty sanctioned an appeal to be made to the judgment and decision of the people.

My Lords, to that appeal I look with confidence. But the country will greatly mistake the character of that appeal if it supposes that the question which is submitted to it is, whether this or that measure of reform should be adopted, and whether this or that clause or provision should be inserted in the bill. We have redeemed our pledge to propose to Parliament what we thought would have satisfied the reasonable expectations of the House of Commons, and would

have shown the conciliatory spirit in which we undertook the question. But, my Lords, after the vote of the House on this subject, we hold ourselves free from the provisions of that bill, and free to reconsider the whole question anew, without prejudice and with due deliberation. The course adopted by the other House on the motion of the noble lord the member for the City of London will have this effect, that no single member of that House who may be unconnected with office will be by his vote pledged to one single provision of that measure. The principles and details of any new bill will be as open to consideration and deliberation as they were before our measure was submitted to Parliament. I know some of my friends in the House of Commons have been threatened that, if they go to the hustings, they must go with this bill round their necks, and they have been defied in such a case to meet a popular constituency. I say nothing about the hustings, because that is not a place where calm deliberation always prevails, but where passion and clamour often carry the day. But I am satisfied that, where any constituency will calmly and fairly consider the merits and demerits of that measure, they will be of opinion the bill we offered was a large, liberal, and useful measure of reform, and one which, while largely extending the advantages of the franchise and admitting many of the lower classes, yet did not indiscriminately admit such a number as to overbear all other classes, and enable the lower classes to monopolise the representation. The House of Commons, however, has thought fit to prohibit the discussion of that measure. The amendment of the noble lord will have the effect of postponing for another year the settlement of the question of reform. It will have the effect of creating serious inconvenience to the public interests by the interruption of useful and necessary legislative measures, by the check it will give to commercial speculation, by apprehensions of the possible consequence of a change in Ministry, and of danger to the peace of Europe. I know all this; and I know, too, that the vote which the House of Commons has pronounced will not have the effect, in the slightest degree, of establishing any principle of parliamentary reform.

My Lords, we do not appeal to the country on the subject of parliamentary reform, still less do we appeal to the country on the particular provisions of that bill. We appeal to the country on a much larger and broader question—whether the present state of the House of Commons—split up as it is into hundreds of petty parties, any one of which is unable to conduct the business of the country, but which are able, by combining together, to obstruct any Government that may be formed—shall receive the continued support and confidence of the people of England? We appeal to them as men who have endeavoured faithfully to discharge the duties of our office, who have endeavoured to deserve the confidence which the House of Commons has withheld, and the confidence which our Sovereign has been pleased to renew in us. We appeal to them to know whether they will entrust the preparation of a measure of reform to those who would approach it in a calm and deliberate spirit, and discuss it in a moderate and temperate tone, or whether they would entrust the preparation of such a measure to men who have embarked upon the wild and visionary schemes of the honourable member for Birmingham, and the hardly less dangerous and visionary proposition of the right honourable gentleman the member for Carlisle, the partner of the noble lord in concocting this resolution. We appeal to them whether, as lovers of fair dealing, and plain and straightforward conduct in public men, they would sanction the overthrow of a Ministry who, in honourably endeavouring to discharge their duty, have fallen, not in pursuance of a difference of opinion brought forward in fair parliamentary conflict, but who have been overthrown in consequence of the success

—the undeserved, but I will not call it the unanticipated success—of what, not to use an offensive expression, I will term an ingenious manoeuvre.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords on April 4th, 1859, when Parliament was Dissolved.*

#### EARL RUSSELL'S FOREIGN POLICY

Now, my Lords, I think that at the commencement the foreign policy of the noble Earl (Russell) opposite might be summed up in the affirmation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, the extension of Liberal principles by the exercise of our moral interference, and above all by the maintenance of uninterrupted and cordial relations with the Emperor of the French. We were told more than once that the present Government was the only one to maintain a good understanding with the Emperor of the French, or at least that its predecessor could not possibly have done so; and that if the country desired to preserve cordial relations between itself and France, her Majesty's present advisers, and especially the noble Earl opposite, were the only persons qualified to secure that most desirable object.

Now, my Lords, as to non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. When I look around me, I fail to see what country there is in the internal affairs of which the noble Earl and her Majesty's Government have not interfered. *Nihil intactum reliquit, nihil tetigit quod*—I cannot say *non ornavit*, but *non conturbavit*. Or the foreign policy of the noble Earl, as far as the principle of non-intervention is concerned, may be summed up in two short, homely, but expressive words—"meddle and muddle." During the whole course of the noble Earl's diplomatic correspondence, wherever he has interfered—and he has interfered everywhere—he has been lecturing, scolding, blustering, and retreating. In fact, I cannot think of the foreign policy pursued by the noble Earl and his colleagues without being reminded of another very distinguished body of actors, commemorated, as your Lordships will recollect, in "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*." Of that celebrated group the two chief ornaments were Bottom the Weaver and Snug the Joiner. Now, it appears to me that the noble Earl opposite combines qualities which are attributed to both these distinguished personages. Like Bottom the Weaver, he is ready to play every part, not even excepting that in which he most excels—namely, "Moonshine." But his favourite part is the part of a lion, "Oh!" says the noble Earl, "let me play the lion; I will roar so that it will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar so that I make the Duke say, 'Let him roar again! let him roar again!'" The noble Earl, too, knows as well as any one how, like Bottom, to "aggravate his voice," so that "he will roar you as gently as any sucking dove"; and, moreover, he has had recourse more than once to the ingenious and somewhat original device of letting half his face be seen through the lion's neck, as if to say, "For all my roaring I am no lion at all, only Snug the Joiner." There is, however, one point of difference which I would have you observe because it is rather important. Bottom the Weaver and Snug the Joiner were possessed by an earnest desire not to alarm the ladies too much, and consequently they gave due warning at the outset of their intentions that the audience might not be alarmed. On the other hand, the noble Earl's disclosure, that, though the roar was like that of a lion, the face was only that of the noble lord himself, was not made betimes, in order that the audience might not be frightened, but only because he found that all the roaring in the world would not frighten them.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords in 1867.*

FENIANISM

My Lords, I ought not to say anything, more especially under present circumstances, when four men are lying under sentence of death—I ought not to say anything to aggravate the crime of this Fenian conspiracy; but, at the same time, I must protest in the strongest terms against those who, in the public press or elsewhere, have assumed that those outrages—those cowardly and dastardly outrages—are to be classed in the category of political offences, and, therefore, to be treated differently from murders ordinarily committed. In the first place, the object of this Fenian conspiracy is not the removal of any grievance, not the redress of any evil of which they have to complain, but the avowed distinct object is to upset the Government of the Queen in her dominions and to constitute an Irish Republic.

There is some respect to be found to those who openly and avowedly come forward to oppose constituted authority, and are prepared by force of arms to establish their principles and views. To such cases as these the character of political crimes may be attached, but no such character can be given to crimes where the sole means of effecting the objects of disturbance—that is, subversion of authority, and complete anarchy throughout the country—are secret incendiarism, attacks on unprotected houses, murders of single and unarmed policemen, attempts by men to fire houses who have not courage to show themselves, who at the appearance of a corporal's guard betake themselves to flight and leave their unfortunate comrades to suffer the penalties of their crimes. Whatever may be urged in mitigation of the crimes committed under the Fenian conspiracy, whatever the disposition on the part of the Crown and people to show all mercy in consistency with the judicial vindication of the law, I cannot for one moment, and I am sure the country will not for one moment, connect the idea of offences of this description with those ordinarily known as political offences, and which as political offences may be regarded with some sort of respect by a large portion of the people.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords, November 19th, 1867.*

EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON BULWER (FIRST BARON LYTTON),  
1803-1873

Novelist and dramatist. A Londoner by birth, he was educated at Ealing and Trinity College, Cambridge. When quite a young man he published several poems of considerable merit, but it was not until the issue of his second novel (*Pelham*) in 1828 that his literary merits were recognised. Other novels followed in quick succession from his pen, and he ultimately attained phenomenal popularity as a writer of fiction. As a dramatist he made a considerable reputation with a series of plays, of which *The Lady of Lyons*, *Richelieu*, and *Money* are the best known. His political career commenced in 1831, when he entered Parliament in the Whig interest as member for St. Ives. Later in his career he joined the Conservative party, and was Colonial Secretary in Lord Derby's Administration. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Now comes the grave and solemn problem which the withdrawal of negotiations forces still more upon the mind of every one who thinks deeply, and which the right hon. gentleman the member for Manchester (Mr. Bright) has so properly raised. War being fairly upon us, of what nature shall be that war? Shall it assume that vast and comprehensive character which excited in the hon. member for Aylesbury (Mr. Layard) hopes for the human race too daring even for him to



detail to this sober House ? In plain words, shall it be a war in which, to use the language of Mr. Canning in 1826, you will enlist "all those who, whether justly or unjustly, are dissatisfied with their own countries" ; in which you will imitate the spirit of revolutionary France, when she swept over Europe, and sought to reconcile humanity to slaughter by pointing to a rainbow of freedom on the other side of the deluge ? Does history here give to the hon. member an example or a warning ? How were these promises fulfilled ? Look round Europe ! You had the courage—where is the freedom ? The deluge spread, the deluge rolled away, half a century is fled, and where is the rainbow visible ? Is it on the ruins of Cracow ? on the field of Novara ? or over the walls of defeated Rome ? No ! in a war that invokes Liberal opinion against established rules, what I most dread and deprecate is, not that you will fulfil your promises and reap the republics for which you sowed rebellions ; what I dread far more is, that all such promises would in the end be broken—that the hopes of liberty would be betrayed—that the moment the monarchies of England and France could obtain a peace that realised the objects for which monarchs go to war, they would feel themselves compelled by the exhaustion of their resources, by the instincts of self-conservatism, to abandon the auxiliaries they had lured into revolution—restore to despotism "the right divine to govern wrong," and furnish it with new excuse for vigilance and rigour by the disorders which always distinguish armed revolution from peaceable reforms.

I say nothing here against the fair possibility of reconstructing in some future Congress the independence of Poland on such territorial arrangements as are comprised in the question, "What is to be done in the Crimea, provided we take it ?"

But these are not all that is meant by the language we hear, less vaguely out of this House than in it, except when a Minister implies what he shrinks from explaining. And woe and shame to the English statesman who, whatever may be his sympathy for oppressed subjects, shall rouse them to rebellion against their native thrones, not foreseeing that in the changes of popular representative Government, all that his Cabinet may promise to-day a new Cabinet to-morrow may legally revoke ; that he has no power to redeem in freedom the pledges that he writes in blood ! And woe still more to brave populations that are taught to rest Democracy on the arms of foreign soldiers, the fickle cheers of foreign popular assemblies, or to dream that liberty can ever be received as a gift, extorted as a right, maintained as a hereditary heirloom, except the charter be obtained at their own Runnymede, and signed under the shadow of their own oaks ! But there is all the difference between rousing nations against their rulers and securing the independence and integrity of a weak nation against a powerful neighbour. The first is a policy that submits the destinies of a country to civil discord, the other relieves those destinies from foreign interference ; the one tends to vain and indefinite warfare, the other starts, at the outset, with intelligible conditions of peace.

Therefore, in this war, let us strictly keep to the object for which it was begun—the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, secured by all the guarantees which statesmen can desire, or victory enable us to demand. The more definite the object, the more firm you will be in asserting it. How the object is to be effected, how these securities are to be obtained, is not the affair of the House of Commons. The strategy must be planned by the allied Cabinets, and its execution entrusted to Councils of War. We in this House can only judge by results ; and, however unfair that may seem to Governments, it is the sole course left to us, unless we are always dictating to our allies, and hampering our generals. But we thus make the end of the war purely protective ; we cannot make the means

we adopt purely defensive. In order to force Russia into our object we must assail and cripple her whenever she can be crippled and assailed. I say, with the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Oxford, do not offer to her an idle insult, do not slap her in the face, but paralyse her hands. "Oh," said a noble friend of mine the other night (Lord Stanley), "it is a wretched policy to humble the foe that you cannot crush; and are you mad enough to suppose that Russia can be crushed?" Let my noble friend, in the illustrious career which I venture to prophesy lies before him, beware how he ever endeavours to contract the grand science of statesmen into scholastic aphorisms. No, we cannot crush Russia as Russia, but we can crush her attempts to be more than Russia. We can, and we must, crush any means that enable her to storm or to steal across that tangible barrier which now divides Europe from a Power that supports the maxims of Machiavelli with the armaments of Britain. You might as well have said to William of Orange, "You cannot crush Louis XIV.; how impolitic you are to humble him!" You might as well have said to the burghers of Switzerland, "You cannot crush Austria; don't vainly insult her by limiting her privilege to crush yourselves." William of Orange did not crush France as a kingdom—Switzerland did not crush Austria as an empire; but William did crush the power of France to injure Holland; Switzerland did crush the power of Austria to enslave her people; and in that broad sense of the word, by the blessing of Heaven, we will crush the power of Russia to invade her neighbours and convulse the world. . . .

The noble lord, who has spoken with so much honesty of conviction (Lord Archibald Hamilton), ventured to anticipate the verdict of history. Let me do the same. Let me suppose that when the future philanthropist shall ask what service on the human race did we, in our generation, signally confer, some one—trained, perhaps, in the schools of Oxford or in the Institute of Manchester—shall answer: "A Power that commanded myriads—as many as those that under Xerxes exhausted rivers in their march—embodied all the forces of barbarism on the outskirts of civilisation. Left there to develop its own natural resources, no State molested, though all apprehended, its growth. But, long pent by merciful Nature in its own legitimate domains, this Power schemed for the outlet to its instinctive ambition. To that outlet it crept by dissimulating guile, by successive treaties that, promising peace, graduated spoliation to the opportunities of fraud. At length, under pretexes too gross to deceive the common sense of mankind, it prepared to seize that outlet—to storm the feeble gates between itself and the world beyond." Then the historian shall say that we in our generation—the united families of England and France—made ourselves the vanguard of alarmed and shrinking Europe, and did not sheathe the sword until we had redeemed the pledge to humanity made on the faith of two Christian sovereigns, and ratified at those distant graves which Liberty and Justice shall revere for ever.

## ALFRED IVERSON, 1798-1874

American politician.

### THE RIGHT OF THE SOUTHERN STATES TO SECEDE

WE intend, Mr. President, to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must; but I do not believe, with the senator from New Hampshire that there is going to be any war. If five or eight States go out, they will necessarily draw all the other Southern States after them. That is a consequence that nothing can prevent.

If five or eight States go out of this Union, I should like to see the man that would propose a declaration of war against them, or attempt to force them into obedience to the Federal Government at the point of the bayonet or the sword.

Sir, there has been a good deal of vapouring on this subject. A great many threats have been thrown out. I have heard them on this floor and upon the floor of the other House of Congress ; but I have also perceived this : they come from those who would be the very last men to attempt to put their threats into execution. Men talk sometimes about their eighteen million who are to whip us ; and yet we have heard of cases in which just such men had suffered themselves to be switched in the face, and trembled like sheep-stealing dogs, expecting to be shot every minute. These threats generally come from men who would be the last to execute them. Some of these Northern editors talk about whipping the Southern States like spaniels. Brave words ; but I venture to assert none of those men would ever volunteer to command an army to be sent down South to coerce us into obedience to Federal power. . . .

But, Sir, I apprehend that when we go out and form our Confederacy—as I think and hope we shall do very shortly—the Northern States, or the Federal Government, will see its true policy to be to let us go in peace and make treaties of commerce and amity with us, from which they will derive more advantages than from any attempt to coerce us. They cannot succeed in coercing us. If they allow us to form our Government without difficulty, we shall be very willing to look upon them as a favoured nation and give them all the advantages of commercial and amicable treaties. I have no doubt that both of us—certainly the Southern States—would live better, more happily, more prosperously, and with greater friendship than we live now in this Union.

Sir, disguise the fact as you will, there is an enmity between the Northern and Southern people that is deep and enduring, and you never can eradicate it—never ! Look at the spectacle exhibited on this floor. How is it ? There are the Republican Northern senators upon that side. Here are the Southern senators on this side. How much social intercourse is there between us ? You sit upon your side, silent and gloomy ; we sit upon ours with knit brows and portentous scowls. Yesterday I observed that there was not a solitary man on that side of the chamber came over here even to extend the civilities and courtesies of life ; nor did any of us go over there. Here are two hostile bodies on this floor ; and it is but a type of the feeling that exists between the two sections. We are enemies as much as if we were hostile States. I believe that the Northern people hate the South worse than ever the English people hated France ; and I can tell my brethren over there that there is no love lost upon the part of the South.

In this state of feeling, divided as we are by interest, by a geographical feeling, by everything that makes two people separate and distinct, I ask why we should remain in the same Union together ? We have not lived in peace ; we are not now living in peace. It is not expected or hoped that we shall ever live in peace. My doctrine is that whenever even man and wife find that they must quarrel, and cannot live in peace, they ought to separate ; and these two sections—North and South—manifesting, as they have done and do now, and probably will ever manifest, feelings of hostility, separated as they are in interests and objects, my own opinion is they can never live in peace ; and the sooner they separate the better.

Sir, these sentiments I have thrown out crudely I confess, and upon the spur of the occasion. I should not have opened my mouth but that the senator from New Hampshire seemed to show a spirit of bravado, as if he intended to alarm and

scare the Southern States into a retreat from their movements. He says that war is to come and you had better take care, therefore. That is the purport of his language ; of course those are not his words ; but I understand him very well, and everybody else, I apprehend, understands him that war is threatened, and therefore the South had better look out. Sir, I do not believe that there will be any war ; but if war is to come, let it come. We will meet the senator from New Hampshire and all the myrmidons of Abolitionism and Black Republicanism everywhere upon our own soil ; and in the language of a distinguished member from Ohio in relation to the Mexican War, we will " welcome you with bloody hands to hospitable graves."—*Speech in the United States Senate, Dec. 5th, 1860.*

## BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, 1805-1881

The eminent statesman. The eldest son of Isaac Disraeli, the author of " Curiosities of Literature," Benjamin Disraeli was born in London on December 21st, 1805. Educated privately he was articled to a solicitor in the City, and about the same time entered as a law student at Lincoln's Inn. Finding legal studies distasteful he turned his attention to literature, and brought out in succession the well-known novels, " Vivian Grey," " The Young Duke," and " Henrietta Temple," which established his reputation as a writer. In 1837 he entered Parliament as member for Maidstone after unsuccessful contests at High Wycombe. His maiden speech was a failure owing to the gross unfairness of his political opponents who howled him down. But he speedily made his mark. In the great debates on the Corn Laws he distinguished himself by his vigorous and sustained attacks on Peel and his policy, and when Lord George Bentinck died he became the leader of the Protectionist party. On Lord Derby attaining to power in 1852 Disraeli was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. He filled the same office from February, 1853, to June, 1859, and again from July, 1866, to February, 1868. In the latter year he attained to the supreme office in the Ministry. He was again Premier from 1874 to 1880. In 1876 he was created Earl of Beaconsfield in recognition of his great public services.

### THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

It is all very well to talk of the barbarities of the feudal system, and to tell us that in those days when it flourished a great variety of gross and grotesque circumstances and great miseries occurred ; but these were not the result of the feudal system : they were the result of the barbarism of the age. They existed not from the feudal system, but in spite of the feudal system. The principle of the feudal system, the principle which was practically operated upon, was the noblest principle, the grandest, the most magnificent and benevolent that was ever conceived by sage, or ever practised by patriot. Why, when I hear a political economist, or an Anti-Corn-Law Leaguer, or some conceited Liberal reviewer come forward and tell us, as a grand discovery of modern science, twitting and taunting, perhaps, some unhappy squire who cannot respond to the alleged discovery—when I hear them say, as the great discovery of modern science, that " property has its duties as well as its rights," my answer is that that is but a feeble plagiarism of the very principle of that feudal system which you are always reviling. Let me next tell those gentlemen who are so fond of telling us that property has its duties as well as its rights, that labour also has its rights as well as its duties : and when I see masses of property raised in this country which do not recognise that principle ; when I find men making fortunes by a method which permits them (very often in a very few years) to purchase the lands of the old territorial aristocracy of the country, I cannot help remembering that those millions are accumulated by a mode which does not recognise it as a duty " to endow the Church, to feed the poor, to guard the land, and to execute justice for nothing." And I cannot help asking myself, when I hear of all this misery, and of all this suffering ; when I know

that evidence exists in our Parliament of a state of demoralisation in the once happy population of this land, which is not equalled in the most barbarous countries, which we suppose the more rude and uncivilised in Asia are—I cannot help suspecting that this has arisen because property has been permitted to be created and held without the performance of its duties.—*From a Speech at Shrewsbury, May 19th, 1843*

#### KNOWLEDGE—THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT

The impulse which has given us that movement in modern times is one that may be traced to an age that may now be considered remote, though the swell of the waters has but recently approached our own shores. Heretofore society was established necessarily on a very different principle to that which is now its basis. As civilisation has gradually progressed, it has equalised the physical qualities of man. Instead of the strong arm, it is the strong head that is now the moving principle of society. You have disenthroned Force, and placed on her high seat Intelligence; and the necessary consequence of this great revolution is, that it has become the duty and the delight equally of every citizen to cultivate his faculties. The prince of all philosophy has told you, in an immortal apophthegm so familiar to you all that it is written now in your halls and chambers, "Knowledge is power." If that memorable passage had been pursued by the student who first announced this discovery of that great man to society, he would have found an oracle not less striking, and in my mind certainly not less true; for Lord Bacon has not only said that "knowledge is power," but living one century after the discovery of the printing-press, he has also announced to the world that "knowledge is pleasure." Why, when the great body of mankind had become familiar with this great discovery—when they learned that a new source was opened to them of influence and enjoyment, is it wonderful that from that hour the heart of nations has palpitated with the desire of becoming acquainted with all that has happened, and with speculating on what may occur? It has indeed produced upon the popular intellect an influence almost as great as—I might say analogous to—the great change which was produced upon the old commercial world by the discovery of the Americas. A new standard of value was introduced, and, after this, to be distinguished, man must be intellectual. Nor, indeed, am I surprised that this feeling has so powerfully influenced our race; for the idea that human happiness is dependent on the cultivation of the mind, and on the discovery of truth, is, next to the conviction of our immortality, the idea the most full of consolation to man; for the cultivation of the mind has no limits, and truth is the only thing that is eternal. Indeed, when you consider what a man is who knows only what is passing under his own eyes, and what the condition of the same man must be who belongs to an institution like the one which has assembled us together to-night, is it—ought it to be—a matter of surprise that from that moment to the present you have had a general feeling throughout the civilised world in favour of the diffusion of knowledge? A man who knows nothing but the history of the passing hour, who knows nothing of the history of the past, but that a certain person whose brain was as vacant as his own occupied the same house as himself, who, in a moment of despondency or of gloom, has no hope in the morrow, because he has read nothing that has taught him that the morrow has any changes—that man, compared with him who has read the most ordinary abridgment of history, or the most common philosophical speculation, is as distinct and different an animal as if he had fallen from some other planet, was influenced by a different organisation, working for

a different end, and hoping for a different result. It is knowledge that equalises the social condition of man—that gives to all, however different their political position, passions which are in common; and enjoyments which are universal. Knowledge is like the mystic ladder in the patriarch's dream. Its base rests on the primeval earth—its crest is lost in the shadowy splendour of the empyrean; while the great authors who for traditionary ages have held the chain of science and philosophy, of poesy and crudition, are the angels ascending and descending the sacred scale, and maintaining, as it were, the communication between man and heaven. This feeling is so universal that there is no combination of society in any age in which it has not developed itself. It may, indeed, be partly restrained under despotic governments, under peculiar systems of retarded civilisation; but it is a consequence as incidental to the spirit and the genius of the Christian civilisation of Europe, as that the day should follow night, and the stars should shine according to their laws and order. Why, the very name of the institution that brings us together illustrates the fact—I can recall, and I think I see more than one gentleman around me who equally can recall, the hours in which we wandered amid

Fields that cool Ilyssus laves.

I am sure, at least, that my hon. friend the member for Stockport [Mr. Cobden] has a lively recollection of that immortal stream, for I remember one of the most effective allusions he made to it in one of the most admirable speeches I ever listened to. But, notwithstanding that allusion, I would still appeal to the poetry of his constitution, and I know it abounds in that quality. I am sure that he could not have looked without emotion on that immortal scene. I still can remember that olive-crowned plain, that sunset crag, that citadel fane of ineffable beauty! That was a brilliant civilisation developed by a gifted race more than 2000 years ago; at a time when the ancestors of the manufacturers of Manchester, who now clothe the world, were themselves covered with skins, and tattooed like the red men of the wilderness. But influences more powerful even than the awful lapse of time separate and distinguish you from that race. They were the children of the sun; you live in a distant, a rugged, and northern clime. They bowed before different altars, they followed different customs, they were modified by different manners. Votaries of the beautiful, they sought in art the means of embodying their passionate conceptions; you have devoted your energies to utility; and by the means of a power almost unknown to antiquity, by its miraculous agencies, you have applied its creative force to every combination of human circumstances that could produce your objects. Yet, amid the toil and triumphs of your scientific industry, upon you there comes the undefinable, the irresistible yearning for intellectual refinement—you guild an edifice consecrated to those beautiful emotions and to those civilising studies in which they excelled, and you impress upon its front a name taken from—

Where on Ægean shores a city rose,  
Built nobly, clear the air, and light the soil,  
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts  
And eloquence!

What a beautiful tribute to immortal genius! What a sublime incentive to eternal fame! Then, when the feeling is so universal, when it is one which modern civilisation is nurturing and developing, who does not feel that it is not only the most benevolent, but the most politic thing you can do to avail yourselves of its influence, and to direct in every way the formation of that character upon which intellect

must now necessarily exercise an irresistible influence ? We cannot shut our eyes any longer to the immense revolution which has taken place. Knowledge is no longer a lonely eremite that offers an occasional and captivating hospitality to some wandering pilgrim ; knowledge is now found in the market-place, a citizen and a leader of citizens. The spirit has touched the multitude ; it has impregnated the mass :

—Totamque infusa per artus,  
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.\*

—*From an Address delivered to the Members of the Manchester Athenæum, Oct. 28rd, 1844.*

#### THE CORN LAWS

I know that we have been told, and by one who on this subject should be the highest authority, that we shall derive from this great struggle, not merely the repeal of the Corn Laws, but the transfer of power from one class to another—to one distinguished for its intelligence and wealth—the manufacturers of England. My conscience assures me that I have not been slow in doing justice to the intelligence of that class ; certain I am that I am not one of those who envy them their wide and deserved prosperity ; but I must confess my deep mortification that in an age of political regeneration, when all social evils are ascribed to the operation of class interests, it should be suggested that we are to be rescued from the alleged power of one class, only to sink under the avowed dominion of another. I, for one, if this is to be the end of all our struggles—if this is to be the great result of this enlightened age—I, for one, protest against the ignominious catastrophe. I believe that the monarchy of England, its sovereignty mitigated by the acknowledged authority of the estates of the realm, has its root in the hearts of the people, and is capable of securing the happiness of the nation and the power of the State. But, Sir, if this be a worn-out dream—if, indeed, there is to be a change, I, for one, anxious as I am to maintain the present polity of this country, ready to make as many sacrifices as any man for that object—if there is to be this great change, I, for one, hope that the foundation of it may be deep, the scheme comprehensive, and that, instead of falling under such a thralldom, under the thralldom of capital—under the thralldom of those who, while they boast of their intelligence, are more proud of their wealth—if we must find a new force to maintain the ancient throne and immemorial monarchy of England, I, for one, hope that we may find that novel power in the invigorating energies of an educated and enfranchised people.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 20th, 1846, in the Debate on Sir Robert Peel's motion to go into Committee of the whole House to consider the Corn Laws.*

#### ATTACK ON PEEL

Sir, the right honourable gentleman tells us that he does not feel humiliated. Sir, it is impossible for any one to know what are the feelings of another. Feeling depends upon temperament ; it depends upon the idiosyncrasy of the individual ; it depends upon the organisation of the animal that feels. But this I will tell the right honourable gentleman, that, though he may not feel humiliated, his country ought to feel humiliated. Is it so pleasing to the self-complacency of a great nation, is it so grateful to the pride of England, that one who from the position he has contrived to occupy must rank as her foremost citizen, is one of whom

\* This active mind, infused through all the space,  
Unites and mingles with the mighty mass.

it may be said, as Dean Swift said of another Minister, "that he is a gentleman who has the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken"? And, Sir, even now, in this last scene of the drama, when the party whom he unintentionally betrayed is to be unintentionally annihilated—even now, in this the last scene, the right honourable gentleman, faithful to the law of his being, is going to pass a project which I believe it is matter of notoriety is not of his own invention. It is one which may have been modified, but which I believe has been offered to another Government, and by that Government has been wisely rejected. Why, Sir, these are matters of general notoriety. After the day that the right honourable gentleman made his first exposition of his schemes, a gentleman well known to the House and learned in all the political secrets behind the scenes, met me and said, "Well, what do you think of your chief's plan?" Not knowing exactly what to say, but taking up a phrase which has been much used in the House, I observed "Well, I suppose it is a great and comprehensive plan." "Oh!" he replied, "we know all about it; it was offered to us. It is not his plan; it's Popkins's plan."

And is England to be governed by Popkins's plan? Will he go to the country with it? Will he go with it to that ancient and famous England that ever was governed by statesmen—by Burleighs and by Walsinghams; by Bolingbrokes and by Walpoles; by a Chatham and a Canning—will he go to it with this fantastic scheming of some presumptuous pedant? I won't believe it! I have that confidence in the common sense, I will say the common spirit, of our countrymen, and I believe they will not long endure this huckstering tyranny of the Treasury Bench—those political pedlars that bought their party in the cheapest market and sold us in the dearest.—*From a Speech in the Debate in the House of Commons, on the third reading of the Corn Importation Bill, May 14th, 1846.*

#### JENNY LIND\*

I look upon the conduct of this lady as one of the most remarkable features of the age we live in. I know nothing in classic story, or in those feudal epochs when we are taught that the individual was more influential, when character was more forcible—I know nothing to be compared with the career of this admirable woman. Why, gentlemen, it almost reaches the high ideal of human nature, when we portray to ourselves a youthful maiden, innocent and benignant, in the possession of an unparalleled and omnipotent charm, alternately entrancing the heart of nations, and then kneeling at the tomb of suffering, of calamity, and of care. To me there is something most beautiful in this life of music and charity—a life passed amid divine sounds and still diviner deeds. I honour the power of the artist. We hear of the Kings and Cæsars of the world acknowledging the magic of her spell, bestowing on her the jewels and offering to her the gorgeous tapestries of antique Courts. But how great is the artist who can say, "Any morning in the saloon of a theatre I can assemble the world together, and can support an institution and reward an individual ten thousand times more than any King or Emperor"! I honour the purity of the artist. I think there is something not only unprecedented but transcendental in one living in the affluence of fame, never for a moment the victim of the inebriation of vanity, but when the riches of the world are poured at her feet, and the plaudits of millions ring in her ears, turning aside directly to feel the common sympathies of our common humanity,

\* Jenny Lind had just previously by her singing brought in a very large sum—£1600—to the revenues of the Hospital, and a grateful reference was made to the fact in the report.



and of all her treasure instantly appropriating, as it were, her tithes to human nature.

It has been said that society has viewed the frailties of artists with a lenient eye. It has been considered that any deficiencies among those children of susceptibility should not be exposed to too severe a ken ; and it is not for me—I am sure it is not the inclination of any one at this moment—to dispute a proposition that takes a softening view of the conduct of human nature. But it is due to one who has done so much, and done it so well—it is due to her that we should publicly express our gratification that she lent to us not only the attraction of her incomparable talents but the sanction of her spotless name. And, gentlemen, I, for one, honour Jenny Lind above all things, because she has shown that she comprehends her position, and that a great artist, sustained by virtue, upheld by self-respect, and full of the magnificence of her mission, ranks in the highest class of human beings and human benefactors.—*From a Speech delivered at the Seventh Anniversary of the Hospital for Consumption, Brompton, May 2nd, 1849.*

#### IMPERIUM ET LIBERTAS

I am altogether innocent of mixing up this question\* with the passions of party politics. The speeches I have made in this House are not speeches which are adapted to please thoughtless societies out of doors, or meetings which are often held in the country, at which my name is mentioned as one who does not do sufficient justice to the sufferings of those who complain. Sir, I pardon all these innuendoes ; I can make allowance for the strong feelings of worthy men placed in the trying circumstances in which the farmers of the United Kingdom are now labouring. But, right or wrong, of this I am convinced, that the course I have taken with respect to their interests has been the result of long thought and careful observation, and that I have asked for nothing for them which justice does not authorise and policy recommend. If I make no further appeal to the noble lord, it is from no hostile feeling that I decline doing so, but because I have appealed twice in vain. I now appeal to the House of Commons, though it is called a free-trade House of Commons, and may be a free-trade House of Commons ; but I appeal with confidence because I have confidence in the cause which I advocate, and confidence in the fair spirit which I believe animates their bosoms. They have now an opportunity which ought not to be lightly treated—a golden occasion, which, in my mind, will not easily find a parallel in the records of our Parliament of England. They may perform a great office and fulfil an august duty. They may step in and do that which the Minister shrinks from doing—terminate the bitter controversy of years. They may bring back that which my Lord Clarendon called “the old good-nature of the people of England.” They may terminate the unhappy quarrel between town and country. They may build up again the fortunes of the land of England—that land to which we owe so much of our power and our freedom ; that land which has achieved the union of those two qualities for combining which a Roman Emperor was deified, *Imperium et Libertas*. And all this, too, not by favour, but by privilege, not by sectarian arrangements, not by class legislation, but by asserting the principles of political justice and obeying the dictates of social equity.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Sept. 11th, 1851, in support of an Amendment advocating Measures for the Relief of Agricultural Distress.*

\* Agricultural distress

THE INDIAN MUTINY AND INDIAN POLICY

It is unnecessary to refer to what has taken place within the last twelve months in India. The great events that have taken place there are graven on every man's heart and convictions. They were accompanied with circumstances of such harrowing interest that there is no man, whatever his condition may be—whether he fill the highest place in the peerage, or follow the plough and gain the prize at our agricultural meetings—who is not cognisant of all the principal details and features of those great events, and who does not feel for many of the startling incidents that occurred in the course of these transactions. But we had to decide—for it was the turning-point of our Indian Empire—the character of the policy which ought to be pursued; whether it should be a policy of unmitigated vengeance or whether the time had arrived when we should attempt to rebuild our great Empire in the East on principles of a very different character, and leading, as we believed, to a very different result. Was it to be military occupation by an army four times greater in amount than any army of Europeans that ever entered that country? Was it to be military occupation, attended by enormous taxation, by a draining of her Majesty's subjects from this country, and by a perpetual exhaustion of our resources? Or were we to recognise that vengeance had done its duty? Were we to recognise that the time had arrived, or was fast arriving, when, upon the fall of the rebellious capital, we ought to announce to the inhabitants of India the principle on which we propose to reconstruct an Empire—a principle that we believed must contribute to their happiness and to the welfare and power and glory of this country?

Was it always to be massacre and confiscation? Or, on the other hand, was it to be discriminating amnesty? Was it to be respect for private property, toleration for religion, and a due and decent regard for the manners and customs of the people? Were we or were we not to distinguish the great body of the millions—who after all are her Majesty's subjects in India—from those military and treacherous rebels who have received or will receive their due meed of reward? These are the three great subjects, gentlemen, which have occupied our councils and which have demanded our management, since we came into office:—Foreign affairs, that involved the question of peace or war; financial arrangements, that involved the question of millions of a deficiency and a reduction of taxation; and the principles upon which a great Empire should be reconstructed in India—three great subjects, gentlemen, and we have been in office three months! And yet we are told that we are a weak Government and have done nothing! Why, we have vindicated the honour of England; we have preserved peace; we have freed from imprisonment our suffering countrymen; we have met an immense deficiency, and at the same time reduced taxation; and we have laid down principles for the reconstruction of our Indian Empire which England approves and Europe admires, and which, if acted on, will maintain the greatness and glory of our country.—*From a Speech delivered on May 26th, 1858, at a Banquet at Slough.*

THE DEATH OF PRINCE ALBERT

No person can be insensible to the fact that the House meets to-night under circumstances very much changed from those which have attended our assembling for many years. Of late years—indeed, for more than twenty years past—whatever may have been, our personal rivalries, and whatever our party strife, there was at least one sentiment in which we all coincided, and that was a sentiment

of admiring gratitude to that Throne whose wisdom and whose goodness had so often softened the acerbities of our free public life, and had at all times so majestically represented the matured intelligence of an enlightened people.

Sir, all that is changed. He is gone who was "the comfort and support" of that Throne. It has been said that there is nothing which England so much appreciates as the fulfilment of duty. The Prince whom we have lost not only was eminent for the fulfilment of duty, but it was the fulfilment of the highest duty under the most difficult circumstances. Prince Albert was the Consort of his Sovereign—he was the father of one who might be his Sovereign—he was the Prime Councillor of a realm, the political constitution of which did not even recognise his political existence. Yet under these circumstances, so difficult and so delicate, he elevated even the Throne by the dignity and purity of his domestic life. He framed and partly accomplished a scheme of education for the heir of England which proved how completely its august proprietor had contemplated the office of an English King. In the affairs of State, while his serene spirit and his elevated position bore him above all the possible bias of our party life, he showed on every occasion all the resources, all the prudence, and all the sagacity of an experienced and responsible statesman. Sir, I have presumed to touch upon three instances in which there was on the part of Prince Albert a fulfilment of duty—duty of the highest character under circumstances of the greatest difficulty. I will venture to touch upon another point in his character equally distinguished by fulfilment of duty, but in which the duty was not only fulfilled, but was created.

Although when he was adopted by this country he was, after all, but a youth of tender years, such was the character of his mind—at once observing and contemplative—that in due season he discovered that, notwithstanding all those great achievements which long centuries of internal concord and public liberty had permitted the energy and enterprise of Englishmen to achieve, there was still a great deficiency in our national character, which, if neglected, might lead to the impairing not only of our social happiness, but even of the sources of our public wealth. That was a deficiency of culture. But he was not satisfied with detecting a want; he resolved to supply it. His plans were deeply laid; they were maturely prepared; and notwithstanding the obstacles which he inevitably encountered, I am prepared to say they were eminently successful. What might have been his lot had he completed that term which is ordained as the average life of man, it might be presumption to predict. Perhaps he would have impressed upon his age not only his character but his name. But this at least posterity must admit, that he heightened the intellectual and moral standard of this country; that he extended and expanded the sympathies of classes; and that he most beneficially and intimately adapted to the productive powers of England the inexhaustible resources of science and art.

Sir, it is sometimes deplored by those who admired and loved him that he was thwarted occasionally in his undertakings, and that he was not duly appreciated. But these are not circumstances for regret, but for congratulation. They prove the leading and original mind which has so long and so advantageously laboured for this country. Had he not encountered these obstacles, had he not been subject to this occasional distrust and misconception, it would only have shown that he was a man of ordinary mould and temper. Those who improve must change, those who change must necessarily disturb and alarm men's prejudices. What he had to encounter was only a demonstration that he was a man superior to his age, and therefore admirably adapted for the work of progress. There is one other point, and one only, on which I will presume for a moment to dwell, and it

is not for the sake of you, Sir, or those who now hear me, or of the generation to which we belong, but it is that those who come after us may not misunderstand the nature of this illustrious man. Prince Albert was not a mere patron; he was not one of those who by their gold or by their smiles reward excellence or stimulate exertion. His contributions to the cause of State were far more powerful and far more precious. He gave to it his thought, his time, his toil; he gave to it his life. On both sides and in all parts of the House I see many gentlemen who occasionally have acted with the Prince at those council boards where they conferred and consulted upon the great undertakings with which he was connected. I ask them, without fear of denial, whether he was not the leading spirit, whether his was not the mind which foresaw the difficulty, his not the resources that supplied the remedy; whether his was not the courage which sustained them under apparently overpowering difficulties; whether every one who worked with him did not feel that he was the real originator of those plans of improvement which they assisted in carrying into effect?

But what avail these words? This House to-night has been asked to condole with the Crown upon this great calamity. No easy office. To condole, in general, is the office of those who, without the pale of sorrow, still feel for the sorrowing. But in this instance the country is as heart-stricken as its Queen. Yet in the mutual sensibility of a Sovereign and a people there is something ennobling—something which elevates the spirit beyond the level of mere earthly sorrow. The counties, the cities, the corporations of the realm—those illustrious associations of learning and science and art and skill, of which he was the brightest ornament and the inspiring spirit, have bowed before the Throne. It does not become the Parliament of the country to be silent. The expression of our feelings may be late, but even in that lateness may be observed some propriety. To-night the two Houses sanction the expression of the public sorrow, and ratify, as it were, the record of a nation's woe.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 6th, 1862.*

#### THE TITLE EMPRESS

It is said that if this title of Empress is adopted, it would be un-English. But why un-English? I have sometimes heard the ballot called un-English, and indignant orators on the other side have protested against the use of an epithet of that character which nobody could define, and which nobody ought to employ. I should like to know why the title is un-English. A gentleman the other day, referring to this question now exciting Parliament and the country, recalled to the recollection of the public the dedication of one of the most beautiful productions of the English muse to the Sovereign of this country; and speaking of the age distinguished by an Elizabeth, by a Shakespeare, and by a Bacon, he asked whether the use of the word *Empress*, applied by one who was second in his power of expression and in his poetic resources only to Shakespeare himself, in the dedication of an immortal work to Queen Elizabeth, was not at least an act which proved that the word and the feeling were not un-English? Then, of course, it was immediately answered by those who criticised the illustration that this was merely the fancy of a poet. But I do not think it was the fancy of a poet. The fancy of the most fanciful of poets was exhausted in the exuberant imagination which idealised his illustrious Sovereign as the "Faëry Queen." He did not call her Empress then—he called her the "Faëry Queen." But when his theme excited the admiration of royalty—when he had the privilege of reciting

some of his cantos to Queen Elizabeth, and she expressed a wish that the work should be dedicated to her—then Spenser had, no doubt, to consult the friends in whom he could confide as to the style in which he should approach so solemn an occasion, and win to himself still more the interest of his illustrious Sovereign. He was a man who lived among courtiers and statesmen. He had as friends Sidney and Raleigh; and I have little doubt that it was by the advice of Sidney and Raleigh that he addressed his Sovereign as Empress, "The Queen of England, of Ireland, and of Virginia," the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh being probably shown in the title of the Queen of Virginia; and it is not at all improbable that Elizabeth herself, who possessed so much literary taste, and who prided herself upon improving the phrases of the greatest poet, revised the dedication. That example clearly shows that the objection of this assumed adoption by her Majesty of the title of Empress as un-English could hardly exist in an age when the word was used with so much honour—in an age of "words which wise Bacon and brave Raleigh spake."—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Lords on March 9th, 1876, in moving the Second Reading of the Royal Titles Bill, which conferred the style Empress of India upon Queen Victoria.*

#### THE BRITISH EMPIRE

I have ever considered that her Majesty's Government, of whatever party formed, are the trustees of the British Empire. That Empire was formed by the enterprise and energy of your ancestors, my Lords; and it is one of a very peculiar character. I know no example of it, either in ancient or modern history. No Cæsar or Charlemagne ever presided over a dominion so peculiar. Its flag floats on many waters; it has provinces in every zone, they are inhabited by persons of different races, different religions, different laws, manners, customs. Some of these are bound to us by the ties of liberty, fully conscious that without their connection with the metropolis they have no security for public freedom and self-government; others are bound to us by flesh and blood and by material as well as moral considerations. There are millions who are bound to us by our military sway, and they bow to that sway because they know that they are indebted to it for order and justice. All these communities agree in recognising the commanding spirit of these islands that has formed and fashioned in such a manner so great a portion of the globe. My Lords, that Empire is no mean heritage; but it is not a heritage that can only be enjoyed; it must be maintained, and it can only be maintained by the same qualities that created it—by courage, by discipline, by patience, by determination, and by a reverence for public law and respect for national rights. My Lords, in the East of Europe at this moment some securities of that Empire are imperilled. I never can believe that at such a moment it is the Peers of England who will be wanting to uphold the cause of this country.—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Lords on April 8th, 1878, on a Motion relative to the calling out of the Reserve Forces.*

#### IMPERIAL FEDERATION

If you look to the history of this country since the advent of Liberalism—forty years ago—you will find that there has been no effort so continuous, so subtle, supported by so much energy, and carried on with so much ability and acumen, as the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England.

And, gentlemen, of all its efforts, this is the one which has been the nearest to

success. Statesmen of the highest character, writers of the most distinguished ability, the most organised and efficient means, have been employed in this endeavour. It has been proved to all of us that we have lost money by our colonies. It has been shown with precise, with mathematical demonstrations that there never was a jewel in the crown of England that was so truly costly as the possession of India. How often has it been suggested that we should at once emancipate ourselves from this incubus. Well, that result was nearly accomplished. When those subtle views were adopted by the country under the plausible plea of granting self-government to the colonies, I confess that I myself thought that the tie was broken. Not that I for one object to self-government. I cannot conceive how our distant colonies can have their affairs administered except by self-government. But self-government, in my opinion, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of the unappropriated lands which belonged to the Sovereign as their trustee, and by a military code which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the colonies should be defended, and by which, if necessary, this country shall call for aid from the colonies themselves. It ought, further, to have been accompanied by the institution of some representative council in the metropolis, which would have brought the colonies into constant and continuous relations with the Home Government. All this, however, was omitted because those who advised that policy—and I believe their convictions were sincere—looked upon the colonies of England, looked even upon our connection with India, as a burden upon this country, viewing everything in a financial aspect, and totally passing by those moral and political considerations which make nations great, and by the influence of which alone men are distinguished from animals.—*From a Speech delivered at the Crystal Palace, June 24th, 1872.*

#### THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

I ventured to say a short time ago, speaking in one of the great cities of this country, that the health of the people was the most important question for a statesman. It is, gentlemen, a large subject. It has many branches. It involves the state of the dwellings of the people, the moral consequences of which are not less considerable than the physical. It involves their enjoyment of some of the chief elements of Nature—air, light, and water. It involves the regulation of their industry, the inspection of their toil. It involves the purity of their provisions, and it touches upon all the means by which you may wean them from habits of excess and of brutality. Now, what is the feeling upon these subjects of the Liberal party—that Liberal party who opposed the Tory party when, even in their weakness, they advocated a diminution of the toil of the people, and introduced and supported those Factory Laws, the principles of which they extended, in the brief period when they possessed power, to every other trade in the country? What is the opinion of the great Liberal party—the party that seeks to substitute cosmopolitan for national principles in the government of this country—on this subject? Why, the views which I expressed in the great capital of the county of Lancaster have been held up to derision by the Liberal Press. A leading member—a very rising member, at least, among the new Liberal members—denounced them the other day as the “policy of sewage.”

Well, it may be the “policy of sewage” to a Liberal member of Parliament. But to one of the labouring multitude of England, who has found fever always

to be one of the inmates of his household—who has, year after year, seen stricken down the children of his loins, on whose sympathy and material support he has looked with hope and confidence, it is not a “policy of sewage,” but a question of life and death. And I can tell you this, gentlemen, from personal conversation with some of the most intelligent of the labouring class—and I think there are many of them in this room who can bear witness to what I say—that the policy of the Tory party—the hereditary, the traditionary policy of the Tory party, that would improve the condition of the people—is more appreciated by the people than the ineffable mysteries and all the pains and penalties of the Ballot Bill. Gentlemen, is that wonderful? Consider the condition of the great body of the working classes of this country. They are in possession of personal privileges—of personal rights and liberties—which are not enjoyed by the aristocracies of other countries. Recently they have obtained—and wisely obtained—a great extension of political rights; and when the people of England see that under the Constitution of this country, by means of the constitutional cause which my right honourable friend the Lord Mayor has proposed, they possess every personal right of freedom, and, according to the conviction of the whole country, also an adequate concession of political rights, is it at all wonderful that they should wish to elevate and improve their condition, and is it unreasonable that they should ask the Legislature to assist them in that behest as far as it is consistent with the general welfare of the realm?—*From a Speech delivered at the Crystal Palace, June 24th, 1872.*

#### A. M. SULLIVAN, 1830–1884

Irish politician. Born at Bantry, in County Cork, he received his education locally. He was employed as a clerk in connection with the relief works started by the Government during the great famine. Proceeded in 1853 to Dublin to seek employment as an artist, and contributed sketches to a paper issued in connection with a local art exhibition. Subsequently he drifted into journalism, and in 1855 became the assistant editor and in 1858 the editor of the *Nation*. For an article published in reference to Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien—the men condemned for murder of a police officer in Manchester in connection with the Fenian rising—he was sentenced in 1868 to six months' imprisonment, but was released before the expiration of his sentence. He was identified with Butt in the foundation of the Home Rule movement, but subsequently having entered Parliament as member for Louth, severed himself from that leader. He joined the Irish Bar in Nov., 1876, but his interests continued to be mainly political to the time of his death.

#### IRISH NATIONAL DEMANDS

JUST look what has been the history of any great political measure passed for Ireland in our own generation. The argument of Catholic Emancipation was exhausted in 1801. Its justice was as patent to all men in 1812 as at any time afterwards; yet it was resisted and refused until, as the Duke of Wellington declared, civil war seemed inevitable. Was not that a mischievous lesson to Irishmen? The Tithe question you resisted until our land was reddened with blood. The Church question and the Land question—it is a story of recent years. A Land Bill was passed in 1870, after passions had been aroused, hearts broken, homes desolated by the thousand; after you had filled America with combustible elements that are at this moment a serious menace to England. In that struggle you broke the heart of Lucas, and drove Gavan Duffy into exile—robbed Ireland of the services of a man whose genius and worth you have been glad to recognise at the Antipodes. The Land Bill, prayed for in 1850 was granted in part in 1870, after the terrible tragedy of Ballycohey had startled the Empire. In 1868 you sud-

denly overthrew the Irish Church, because, as you avowed, of the spread of Fenianism. In the face of the men whose warnings you had angrily resented a few years previously, you came down to this House to concede in an hour of alarm what you had refused in the time of tranquillity. Is this narration true or false? Am I, or am I not, reciting facts known to you all? What do these facts show? That, by some malign fatality, some calamitous coincidence, if nothing more, you scoff at men, like my colleague and myself, who beseech you to be just in time. You resist concession in time of calm, and yield it only in the face of real or fancied peril. If it be not so, let some one get up to-night, and name for us any great national concession made to Ireland under any other circumstances. As it has been, perhaps it is still to be. You will complain of my words; you will say I do not warn but threaten, and you will prefer to believe those who tell you the Irish masses are contented and well-affected, as enthusiastically ready as Englishmen could be to pour out their blood in your defence; but I dare all risk of temporary misrepresentation and blame.

I look into the future, and can await my vindication. Do not affect to mistake our position in this crisis of the Empire. We are not so many members of a party or a section of this House. We are not so many advocates of this or that Bill. We are the national representation of Ireland, here in overwhelming majority to demand the restoration of Parliamentary rule and Constitutional Government. We are projecting no new proposal, like the friends of this or that great reform or amelioration. We are here to call for the restitution of what we enjoyed and possessed, but which you wrung from us by means held to vitiate and render illegal every public transaction between man and man, between nation and nation. Possession gives you no title to it; for no time runs against a claim asserted and renewed, as ours has been, from generation to generation. Legally we stand to-day where we stood seventy years ago. Restore to Ireland the reign of law! It is all she asks as the price of her friendship—a price cheap indeed, for it takes nothing from you that belongs to you. The price of her friendship! You are now, in view of a terrible emergency, possibly at hand, searching Europe through for allies. Here we are to-night empowered to offer you one worth the best you could elsewhere find—the alliance, the hearty friendship, the enthusiastic support of Ireland. I own I have deep reason to wish this question settled, and to see a cordial feeling established between the two countries before dark clouds grow darker, and while yet the reconciliation can be free and generous and efficacious. The peace, the happiness, the tranquillity of Ireland are most dear to me; and I do not wish to see my country desolated and destroyed by being made, perhaps, a battlefield of the coming struggle. I do not want the ghastly episode of some continental despot, making what he would call a diversion in Ireland—wasting the blood and blasting the hopes of my country in a mere stroke of tactics to serve his own ends. I shudder when I think of such a possibility; and I appeal to you—yes, unchilled by the foregone conclusion of your unwise refusal—I nevertheless raise and record my appeal to you and the English nation to-night to let us clasp hands in friendship on the only terms on which we can be allies or friends. Be simply just. That you will do so yet, despite your customary refusals now, I am as convinced as I am of my own existence. It is the time which, with your customary unwisdom, you may select for such a step that alone disquiets me. Austria tried your present policy towards Hungary, and changed it after Sadowa. I hope and pray you will wait for no such hour to accept the proffered hand and secure the ready aid of the brave and gallant Irish nation.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on Jan. 17th, 1878.*



## JOHN BRIGHT, 1811-1889

**Statesman and orator.** The son of a Quaker cotton spinner at Rochdale, John Bright was born and educated in the town. He first came into public prominence in 1839, in connection with the Anti-Corn Law League, in the organisation of which he took a leading part as a colleague of Richard Cobden. He unsuccessfully contested Durham city in April, 1843, but he stood again in July in the same year, and was then elected. His connection with the constituency terminated in July, 1847, when he was chosen as one of the members for Manchester. He represented Manchester for ten years and then was defeated. A few months later—in April, 1857—he stood for Birmingham, and was elected. His connection with that city continued until his death. He was President of the Board of Trade from Dec. 1868, to Dec., 1870, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from Oct., 1873, to Feb., 1874, and from April, 1880, to July, 1882. The final severance of official ties was brought about by differences of opinion in regard to the Egyptian policy of the Gladstone Ministry. The introduction by Mr. Gladstone of his Home Rule Bill further tended to widen the breach between the two statesmen. He was a man of strong and independent views, which he expressed in free Saxon English with a grace of diction and a wealth and beauty of imagery which left him without a rival amongst the orators of his day.

## THE BALANCE OF POWER

IF this phrase of the "balance of power" is to be always an argument for war, the pretence for war will never be wanting, and peace can never be secure. Let any one compare the power of this country with that of Austria now and forty years ago. Will any one say that England, compared with Austria, is now three times as powerful as she was thirty or forty years ago? Austria has a divided people, bankrupt finances, and her credit is so low that she cannot borrow a shilling out of her own territories; England has a united people, national wealth rapidly increasing, and a mechanical and productive power to which that of Austria is as nothing. Might not Austria complain that we have disturbed the "balance of power" because we are growing so much stronger from better government, from the greater union of our people, from the wealth that is created by the hard labour and skill of our population, and from the wonderful development of the mechanical resources of the kingdom, which is seen on every side? If this phrase of the "balance of power," the meaning of which nobody can exactly make out, is to be brought in on every occasion to stimulate this country to war, there is an end to all hope of permanent peace.

There is, indeed, a question of a "balance of power" which this country might regard, if our statesmen had a little less of those narrow views which they sometimes arrogantly impute to me and to those who think with me. If they could get beyond those old notions which belong to the traditions of Europe, and cast their eyes as far westward as they are now looking eastward, they might there see a power growing up in its gigantic proportions, which will teach us before very long where the true "balance of power" is found. This struggle may indeed begin with Russia, but it may end with half the States of Europe; for Austria and Prussia are just as likely to join with Russia as with England and France, and probably much more so; and we know not how long alliances, which now appear very secure, may remain so; for the circumstances in which the Government has involved us are of the most critical character, and we stand upon a mine which may explode any day. Give us seven years of this infatuated struggle upon which we are now entering, and let the United States remain at peace during that period, and who shall say what will then be the relative positions of the two nations? Have you read the Reports of your own Commissioners to the New York Exhibi-

tion? Do you comprehend what is the progress of that country, as exhibited in its tonnage, and exports, and imports, and manufactures, and in the development of all resources, and the means of transit? There has been nothing like it hitherto under the sun. The United States may profit to a large extent by the calamities which will befall us; whilst we, under the miserable and lunatic idea that we are about to set the worn-out Turkish Empire on its legs, and permanently to sustain it against the aggressions of Russia, are entangled in war. Our trade will decay and diminish—our people, suffering and discontented, as in all former periods of war, will emigrate in increasing numbers to a country whose wise policy is to keep itself free from the entanglement of European politics—to a country with whom rests the great question, whether England shall, for any long time, retain that which she professes to value so highly—her great superiority in industry and at sea.

This whole notion of the “balance of power” is a mischievous delusion which has come down to us from past times; we ought to drive it from our minds, and to consider the solemn question of peace or war on more clear, more definite, and on far higher principles than any that are involved in the phrase the “balance of power.”—*Speech in the House of Commons, March, 31st, 1854, on the Queen's Message announcing the Declaration of War with Russia.*

#### THE WAR WITH RUSSIA

This has been a terribly destructive war for officers. They have been, as one would have expected them to be, the first in valour as the first in place; they have suffered more in proportion to their numbers than the commonest soldiers in the ranks. This has spread sorrow over the whole country. I was in the House of Lords when the vote of thanks was moved. In the gallery were many ladies, three-fourths of whom were dressed in the deepest mourning. Is this nothing? And in every village cottages are to be found into which sorrow has entered, and, as I believe, through the policy of the Ministry, which might have been avoided. No one supposes that the Government wished to spread the pall of sorrow over the land; but this we had a right to expect, that they would at least with becoming gravity discuss a subject the appalling consequences of which may come home to individuals and to the nation. I recollect when Sir Robert Peel made a speech on subjects which threatened hostilities with the United States—I recollect the gravity of his countenance, the solemnity of his tone, his whole demeanour showing that he felt in his soul the responsibility that rested on him.

I have seen this, and I have seen the present Ministry. There was the buffoonery at the Reform Club. Was that becoming a matter of this grave nature? Has there been a solemnity of manner in the speeches heard in connection with this war—and have they become statesmen and Christian men, speaking on a subject of this nature? It is very easy for the noble lord the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston) to rise and say that I am against war under all circumstances; and that if an enemy were to land on our shores, I should make a calculation as to whether it would be cheaper to take him in or keep him out, and that my opinion on this question is not to be considered either by Parliament or the country. I am not afraid of discussing the war with the noble lord on his own principles. I understand the Blue Books as well as he; and, leaving out all fantastic and visionary notions about what will become of us if something is not done to destroy Russia, I say—and I say it with as much confidence as I ever said anything in my

life—that the war cannot be justified out of these documents ; and impartial history will teach this to posterity if we do not now comprehend it.

I am not, nor did I ever pretend to be, a statesman ; but that character is so tainted and so equivocal in our day, that I am not sure that a pure and honourable ambition would aspire to it. I have not enjoyed for thirty years, like these noble lords, the emoluments of office. I have not set my sails to every passing breeze. I am a plain and simple citizen, sent here by one of the foremost constituencies of the Empire, representing feebly, perhaps, but honestly, the opinions of very many, and the true interests of all that have sent me here. Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war, or of an incompetent and guilty Ministry. And, even if I were alone, if my voice were the solitary one raised amid the din of arms and the clamours of a venal press, I should have the consolation I have to-night—and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence—the priceless consolation that I have never uttered one word that could promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one single drop of my country's blood.—*Speech in the House of Commons on Dec. 22nd, 1854, on the Enlistment of Foreigners Bill.*

#### A SOLEMN APPEAL

There is one subject upon which I should like to put a question to the noble lord at the head of the Government. I shall not say one word here about the state of the army in the Crimea, or one word about its numbers or its condition. Every member of this House, every inhabitant of this country, has been sufficiently harrowed with details regarding it. To my solemn belief, thousands—nay, scores of thousands of persons—have retired to rest night after night, whose slumbers have been disturbed or whose dreams have been based upon the sufferings and agonies of our soldiers in the Crimea. I should like to ask the noble lord at the head of the Government—although I am not sure if he will feel that he can or ought to answer the question—whether the noble lord the member for London (Lord John Russell) has power, after discussions have commenced, and as soon as there shall be established good grounds for believing that the negotiations for peace will prove successful, to enter into any armistice ? [“ No, no ! ”]

I know not, Sir, who it is that says “ No, no,” but I should like to see any man get up and say that the destruction of two hundred thousand human lives lost on all sides during the course of this unhappy conflict is not a sufficient sacrifice. You are not pretending to conquer territory—you are not pretending to hold fortified or unfortified towns ; you have offered terms of peace which, as I understand them, I do not say are not moderate ; and breathes there a man in this House or in this country whose appetite for blood is so insatiable that, even when terms of peace have been offered and accepted, he pines for that assault in which, of Russian, Turk, French, and English, as sure as one man dies, twenty thousand corpses will strew the streets of Sebastopol ? I say I should like to ask the noble lord—and I am sure that he will feel, and that this House will feel, that I am speaking in no unfriendly manner towards the Government of which he is at the head—I should like to know, and I venture to hope that it is so, if the noble lord the member for London has power, at the earliest stage of these proceedings at Vienna at which it can properly be done—and I should think that it might properly be done at a very early stage—to adopt a course by which all further waste of human life may be put an end to, and further animosity between three great nations be, as far as possible, prevented.

I appeal to the noble lord at the head of the Government and to this House; I am not now complaining of the war—I am not now complaining of the terms of peace, nor, indeed, of anything that has been done—but I wish to suggest to this House what, I believe, thousands and tens of thousands of the most educated and of the most Christian portion of this country are feeling upon this subject, although, indeed, in the midst of a certain clamour in the country, they do not give public expression to their feelings. Your country is not in an advantageous state at this moment; from one end of the kingdom to the other there is a general collapse of industry. Those members of this House not intimately acquainted with the trade and commerce of the country do not fully comprehend our position as to the diminution of employment and the lessening of wages. An increase in the cost of living is finding its way to the homes and hearts of a vast number of the labouring population.

At the same time there is growing up—and, notwithstanding what some hon. members of this House may think of me, no man regrets it more than I do—a bitter and angry feeling against that class which has for a long period conducted the public affairs of this country. I like political changes when such changes are made as the result, not of passion, but of deliberation and reason. Changes so made are safe, but changes made under the influence of violent exaggeration, or of the violent passions of public meetings, are not changes usually approved by this House or advantageous to the country. I cannot but notice, in speaking to gentlemen who sit on either side of this House, or in speaking to any one I meet between this House and any of those localities we frequent when this House is up—I cannot, I say, but notice that an uneasy feeling exists as to the news that may arrive by the very next mail from the East. I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe, or that they will be driven into the sea; but I am certain that many homes in England in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return—many such homes may be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive. The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the very beating of his wings. There is no one to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on; but he calls at the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, equally as at the cottage of the humble, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal.

I tell the noble lord that if he be ready honestly and frankly to endeavour, if possible, by the negotiations to be opened at Vienna, to put an end to this war, no word of mine, no vote of mine, will be given to shake his power for one single moment, or to change his position in this House. I am sure that the noble lord is not inaccessible to appeals made to him from honest motives and with the deferential feeling that he has been for more than forty years a member of this House. The noble lord, before I was born, sat upon the Treasury bench, and he has devoted his life to the service of his country. He is no longer young, and his life has extended almost to the term allotted to man. I would ask, I would entreat the noble lord to take a course which, when he looks back upon his whole political career—whatever he may therein find to be pleased with, whatever to regret—cannot but be a source of gratification. By adopting that course he would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, having obtained the laudable object of his ambition—having become the foremost subject of the Crown, the dispenser of, it may be, the destinies of his country, and the presiding genius in her councils—he had achieved a still higher and nobler ambition: that he had returned the sword to the scabbard—that at his word torrents of blood had ceased to flow

—that he had restored tranquillity to Europe, and saved this country from the indescribable calamities of war.—*Speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 23rd, 1855, on the Negotiations for Peace at Vienna.*

#### INDIAN POLICY

I believe the whole of India is now trembling under the action of volcanic fires; and we shall be guilty of the greatest recklessness, and I must say of great crime against the Monarchy of England, if we do anything by which we shall own this Proclamation.\* I am asked on this question to overturn her Majesty's Government. The policy adopted by the Government on this subject is the policy that was cheered by hon. members on this side when it was first announced. It is a policy of mercy and conciliation. False—may I not say?—or blundering leaders of this party would induce us, contrary to all our associations and all our principles, to support an opposite policy. I am willing to avow that I am in favour of justice and conciliation—of the law of justice and of kindness. Justice and mercy are the supreme attributes of the perfection which we call Deity, but all men everywhere comprehend them; there is no speech nor language in which their voice is not heard, and they could not have been vainly exercised with regard to the docile and intelligent millions of India. You had the choice. You have tried the sword. It has broken; it now rests broken in your grasp; and you stand humbled and rebuked. You stand humbled and rebuked before the eyes of civilised Europe. You may have another chance. You may, by possibility, have another chance of governing India. If you have, I beseech you to make the best of it. Do not let us pursue such a policy as many men in India, and some in England, have advocated, but which hereafter you will have to regret, which can end only, as I believe, in something approaching to the ruin of this country, and which must, if it be persisted in, involve our name and nation in everlasting disgrace.—*Speech in the House of Commons, May 20th, 1858.*

#### THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

At this very moment there are millions in the United States who personally, or whose immediate parents, have at one time been citizens of this country, and perhaps known to some of the oldest of those I am now addressing. They found a home in the Far West; they subdued the wilderness; they met with plenty there, which was not afforded them in their native country; and they are become a great people. There may be persons in England who are jealous of those States. There may be men who dislike democracy, and who hate a republic; there may be even those whose sympathies warm towards the slave oligarchy of the South. But of this I am certain, that only misrepresentation the most gross or calumny the most wicked can sever the tie which unites the great mass of the people of this country with their friends and brethren beyond the Atlantic.

Whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South will achieve an unhonoured independence or not, I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know—that in a few years, very few years, the twenty millions of free men in the North will be thirty millions, or even fifty millions—a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not

\* Lord Canning's Proclamation relative to land tenure in Oude, which went near to wrecking the Derby Administration. It was upon a vote of censure on the Government for the policy contained in his Proclamation that Mr. Bright made his speech.

be said amongst them, that, in the darkest hour of their country's trials, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and calamities of her children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondsmen of the South, and tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds between the two great nations that speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name.—*Speech at Rochdale on Dec. 4th, 1861, on the Seizure of the Southern Commissioners.*

Now for one moment let us lift ourselves, if we can above the narrow circle in which we are all too apt to live and think; let us put ourselves on an historical eminence, and judge this matter fairly. Slavery has been, as we all know, the huge, foul blot upon the fame of the American Republic; it is a hideous outrage against human right and against divine law; but the pride, the passion of man, will not permit its peaceable extinction. The slave-owners of our colonies, if they had been strong enough, would have revolted too. I believe there was no mode short of a miracle more stupendous than any recorded in Holy Writ that could in our time, or in a century, or could ever have brought about the abolition of slavery in America, but the suicide which the South has committed and the war which it has commenced.

Sir, it is a measureless calamity—this war. I said the Russian war was a measureless calamity, and yet many of your leaders and friends told you that it was a just war to maintain the integrity of Turkey, some thousands of miles off. Surely the integrity of your own country at your own doors must be worth as much as the integrity of Turkey. Is not this war the penalty which inexorable justice exacts from America, North and South, for the enormous guilt of cherishing that frightful iniquity of slavery for the last eighty years? I do not blame any man here who thinks the cause of the North hopeless and the restoration of the Union impossible. It may be hopeless; the restoration may be impossible. You have the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer\* on that point. As a speaker, he is not surpassed by any man in England. But, unfortunately, he made use of expressions in the north of England nearly three months ago, and seems ever since then to have been engaged in trying to make people understand what he meant. He believes the cause of the North to be hopeless; that their enterprise cannot succeed.

Well, he is quite welcome to that opinion, and so is anybody else. I do not hold the opinion; but the facts are before us all, and as far as we can discard passion and sympathy, we are all equally at liberty to form our own opinion. But what I do blame is this. I blame men who are eager to admit into the family of nations a State which offers itself to us, based upon a principle, I will undertake to say, more odious and more blasphemous than was ever heretofore dreamed of in Christian or Pagan, in civilised or in savage times. The leaders of this revolt propose this monstrous thing—that over a territory forty times as large as England the blight and curse of slavery shall be for ever perpetuated.

I cannot believe, myself, in such a fate befalling that fair land, stricken though it now is with the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilisation, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

Wade through slaughter to a throne,  
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.†

\* Mr. Gladstone.

† Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard."

I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main—and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and, over all that wide continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime.—*Speech at Birmingham, December 18th, 1862.*

#### THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

The more I consider the course of this war, the more I come to the conclusion that it is improbable in future that the United States will be broken into separate republics. I do not come to the conclusion that the North will conquer the South. But I think the conclusion to which I am more disposed to come now than at any time since the breaking out of the war is this—that if a separation should occur for a time, still the interest, the sympathies, the sentiments, the necessities of the whole continent, and its ambition also, which, as the hon. gentleman mentioned, seems to some people to be a necessity, render it highly probable that the continent would still be united under one central Government. I may be quite mistaken. I do not express that opinion with any more confidence than hon. gentlemen have expressed theirs in favour of a permanent dissolution; but now is not this possible—that the Union may be again formed on the basis of the South? There are persons who think that possible. I hope it is not, but we cannot say that it is absolutely impossible.

Is it not possible that the Northern Government might be baffled in their military operations? Is it not possible that, by their own incapacity, they might be humiliated before their own people? And is it not even possible that the party which you please to call the Peace party in the North, but which is in no sense a peace party, should unite with the South, and that the Union should be reconstituted on the basis of Southern opinions and of the Southern social system? Is it not possible, for example, that the Southern people, and those in their favour, should appeal to the Irish population of America against the negroes, between whom there has been little sympathy and little respect; and is it not possible they should appeal to the commercial classes of the North—and the rich commercial classes in all countries, who, from the uncertainty of their possessions and the fluctuation of their interests, are rendered always timid and frequently corrupt—is it not possible, I say, that they might prefer the union of their whole country upon the basis of the South, rather than that union which many members of this House look upon with so much apprehension?

If that should ever take place—but I believe, with my hon. friend below me (Mr. Forster), in the moral government of the world, and therefore I cannot believe that it will take place; but if it were to take place, with their great armies, and with their great navy, and their almost unlimited power, they might offer to drive England out of Canada, France out of Mexico, and whatever nations are interested in them out of the islands of the West Indies; and you might then have a great State built upon slavery and war, instead of that free State to which I look, built upon an educated people, upon general freedom, and upon morality in government.—*Speech at St. James's Hall, March 28th, 1863.*

## WAR WITH

In conclusion, Sir, I have only this to say—that I wish to take of this question a generous view ; a view, I say, generous with regard to the people with whom we are in amity, whose Minister we receive here, and who receive our Minister in Washington. We see that the Government of the United States has for two years past been contending for its life, and we know that it is contending necessarily for human freedom. That Government affords the remarkable example—offered for the first time in the history of the world—of a great Government coming forward as the organised defender of law, freedom, and equality.

Surely hon. gentlemen opposite cannot be so ill-informed as to say that the revolt of the Southern States is in favour of freedom and equality ? In Europe often, and in some parts of America, when there has been insurrection, it has been of the suffering generally against the oppressor, and rarely has it been found, and not more commonly in our history than in the history of any other country, that the Government has stepped forward as the organised defender of freedom—of the wide and general freedom of those under the rule. With such a Government, in such a contest, with such a foe, the hon. and learned gentleman the member for Sheffield, who professes to be more an Englishman than most Englishmen, asks us to throw into the scale against it the weight of the hostility of England.

I have not said a word with regard to what may happen to England if we go into war with the United States. It will be a war on the ocean—every ship that belongs to the two nations will, as far as possible, be swept from the seas. But when the troubles in America are over—be they ended by the restoration of the Union, or by separation—that great and free people, the most instructed in the world—there is not an American to be found in the New England States who cannot read and write, and there are not three men in one hundred in the whole Northern States who cannot read and write—and those who cannot read and write are those who have recently come from Europe—I say the most instructed people in the world, and the most wealthy—if you take the distribution of wealth among the whole people—will have left in their hearts a wound by your act which a century may not heal ; and the posterity of some of those who now hear my voice may look back with amazement, and I will say with lamentation, at the course which was taken by the hon. and learned gentleman, and by such hon. members as may choose to follow his leading. [“ No ! No ! ”] I suppose the hon. gentlemen who cry “ No ! ” will admit that we sometimes suffer from some errors of our ancestors. There are few persons who will not admit that, if their fathers had been wiser, their children would have been happier.

We know the cause of this revolt, we know its purpose, and its end. Those who made it have not left the world in darkness respecting their intentions. But what the revolt is to accomplish is still hidden from our sight ; and I will abstain now, as I have always abstained, from predicting what is to come. I know what I hope for—what I shall rejoice in—but I know nothing of future events that will enable me to express a confident opinion. Whether it will give freedom to the race which the white man has for centuries trampled in the dust, or whether the issue will purify a nation steeped in crime in connection with its conduct to that race, is known only to the Supreme. In His hands are alike the breath of men and the life of States. I am willing to commit to Him the issue of this dread contest ; but I implore Him, and I beseech this House, that my country may lift nor hand nor voice in aid of the most stupendous act of guilt recorded in the annals of mankind.—*Speech in the House of Commons, June 30th, 1868, on the Motion by Mr. Roebuck (Member for Sheffield) for the Recognition of the Southern Confederacy.*



## BRITAIN AND AMERICA

Why should we fear a great nation on the American Continent ? Some people fear that, should America become a great nation, she will be arrogant and aggressive. But that does not follow. The character of a nation does not depend altogether upon its size, but upon the intelligence, instruction, and morals of its people. You fancy the supremacy of the sea will pass away from you ; and the noble lord, who has had much experience, and is supposed to be wiser on the subject than any other man in the House, will say that "Rule Britannia," that noble old song, may become obsolete. Well, inasmuch as the supremacy of the seas means arrogance and the assumption of dictatorial power on the part of this country, the sooner that becomes obsolete the better. I do not believe that it is for the advantage of this country, or of any country in the world, that any one nation should pride itself upon what is termed the supremacy of the sea ; and I hope the time is coming—I believe the hour is hastening—when we shall find that law and justice will guide the councils and will direct the policy of the Christian nations of the world. Nature will not be baffled because we are jealous of the United States—the decrees of Providence will not be overthrown by aught we can do.

The population of the United States is now not less than 35,000,000. When the next Parliament of England has lived to the age which this has lived to, that population will be 40,000,000, and you may calculate the increase at the rate of rather more than 1,000,000 of persons per year. Who is to gainsay it ? Will constant snarling at a great republic alter this state of things, or swell us up in these islands to 40,000,000 or 50,000,000, or bring them down to our 30,000,000 ? Hon. members and the country at large should consider these facts, and learn from them that it is the interest of the nations to be at one—and for us to be in perfect courtesy and amity with the great English nation on the other side of the Atlantic. I am certain that the longer the nation exists the less will our people be disposed to sustain you in any needless hostility against them or jealousy of them. And I am the more convinced of this from what I have seen of the conduct of the people in the north of England during the last four years. I believe, on the other hand, that the American people, when this excitement is over, will be willing, so far as aggressive acts against us are concerned, to bury in oblivion transactions which have given them much pain, and that they will make the allowance which they may fairly make, that the people of this country—even those high in rank and distinguished in culture—have had a very inadequate knowledge of the real state of the events which have taken place in that country since the beginning of the war.

It is on record that when the author of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was about beginning his great work, David Hume wrote a letter to him urging him not to employ the French but the English tongue, "because," he said, "our establishments in America promise superior stability and duration to the English language." How far that promise has been in part fulfilled we who are living now can tell ; but how far it will be more largely and more completely fulfilled in after-times we must leave for after-times to tell. I believe that in the centuries which are to come it will be the greatest pride and the highest renown of England that from her loins have sprung a hundred—it may be two hundred—millions of men who dwell and prosper on that continent which the old Genoese gave to Europe. Sir, if the sentiments which I have uttered shall become the sentiments of the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom—if the modera-

tion which I have described shall mark the course of the Government and of the people of the United States—then, notwithstanding some present irritation and some present distrust—and I have faith both in us and in them—I believe that these two great commonwealths may march on abreast, parents and guardians of freedom and justice, wheresoever their language shall be spoken and their power shall extend.—*Speech in the House of Commons on March 13th, 1865, on the Defence of Canada.*

## IRISH CHURCH CLERGY

I never said a word in this House, or, I believe, out of it, depreciating the character of the clergymen of the Established Church of Ireland. I think no religious ministers were ever placed in a more unfortunate position; and I am satisfied that many of them feel it, and I have not the least doubt that when this transaction is once accomplished, they will breathe more freely. I believe they will be more potent in their ministrations, and I believe their influence, which ought to be considerable, will be far more extensive than it has been, and far more beneficial to the districts in which they live. But this being so great a question as the Home Secretary described it, it can only be settled by mutual and reasonable concessions. The main principle being secured—that State Church supremacy is abolished in Ireland, and that the Irish Churches are henceforth to be free churches on the voluntary principle—then I would be willing, and I would recommend every person in the country to whom my voice may reach to make any reasonable concession that may be suggested. I hope the time will come—I am afraid the right hon. gentleman opposite is hardly in a position to undertake it; but so anxious am I that it should be done, that I should be delighted to co-operate with him in supporting any measure to settle this great question; but, if it ever does come to be dealt with by a great and powerful Minister, let it be in a great and generous spirit, with moderation and justice.

We must all endeavour to get rid of passion in discussing this question, which, I am sorry to say, is, of all others, the most calculated to create passion. We are all, I believe, of one religion. I do not know, but I suppose there will come a time in the history of the world, when men will be astonished that Catholic and Protestant, Churchman and Nonconformist, had so much animosity and suspicion against each other. I accept and believe in a very grand passage which I once met with in the writings of the illustrious founder of the Colony and State of Pennsylvania: "That the humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls are everywhere of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask, they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them strangers." Let us act in this spirit, and our work is easy. The noble lord towards the conclusion of his speech spoke of the cloud which is at present hanging over Ireland. It is a dark and heavy cloud, and its darkness expands over the feelings of men in all parts of the British Empire. But there is a consolation which we may all take to ourselves. An inspired king and bard and prophet has left us words which are not only the expression of a fact, but we may take them as the utterance of a prophecy. He says, "To the upright there ariseth light in the darkness." Let us try in this matter to be upright. Let us try to be just, and that cloud will be dispelled; the dangers which we see will vanish; and we may have the happiness, perhaps, of leaving to our children the heritage of an honourable citizenship in a united and prosperous Empire.—*Speech in the House of Commons on March 13th, 1868, on the State of Ireland.*

## IRISH CHURCH ENDOWMENTS

If I were particular on the point about the sacred nature of these endowments I should even then be satisfied with the provisions of this Bill, for after all I hope it is not far from Christianity to charity. We know the Divine Founder of our Faith has left much more of the doings of a compassionate and loving heart than He has of dogma. I am not able to give the verses or the chapters, but what always strikes one most in reading the narratives of the Gospels is, how much of compassion there was, how much of dealing kindly with all that were sick and all that were suffering. Do you think it will be a misappropriation of the surplus funds of this great transaction to apply them to some objects such as those described in the Bill? Do you not think that such charitable dealing will be better than continuing to maintain by these vast funds three times the number of clergymen that can be the slightest use to the Church with which they are connected? We can do little, it is true. We cannot re-illumine the extinguished lamp of reason; we cannot make the deaf to hear; we cannot make the dumb to speak; it is not given us—

From the thick film to purge the visual ray,  
And on the sightless eyeballs pour the day.

But at least we can lessen the load of affliction, and we can make life more tolerable to vast numbers who suffer.

Sir, when I look at this great measure—and I can assure the House I have looked at it much more than the majority of members. because I have seen it grow from line to line, and from clause to clause, and have watched its growth and its completion with a great and increasing interest—I say when I look at this measure, I look at it as tending to a more true and solid union between Ireland and Great Britain. I see it giving tranquillity to our people, greater strength to the realm, and new lustre and new dignity to the Crown. I dare claim for this Bill the support of all thoughtful and good people within the bounds of the British Empire, and I cannot doubt that it will be accompanied by the blessing of the Supreme in its beneficent results; for I believe it to be founded upon those principles of justice and of mercy which are the glorious attributes of His eternal reign.—*Speech in the House of Commons, March 19th, 1869, on the Irish Church.*

## ROBERT LOWE, VISCOUNT SHERBROOKE, 1811–1892

Statesman. Born at Bingham, Nottinghamshire. Educated at Winchester and at University College, Oxford. Proceeded early in life to Australia, and practised for several years with great success at the Bar at Sydney. Returning to England in 1850, he two years later entered Parliament as member for Kidderminster. Later he sat in the House of Commons as member for the University of London. He was appointed Vice-President of the Council in Lord Palmerston's Administration, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Gladstone's first Administration. In the latter capacity he introduced the famous Match Tax which created so much excitement in 1868. He was a powerful debater. His speeches bear the impress of his great classical attainments.

## THE EVILS OF DEMOCRACY

THE only practical mode of dealing with this question, in a manner worthy at once the dignity of this House and the character of the English people, is to guide our course by the light of experience, gained by what has been done in former times—

above all, in our own country, the great nurse of freedom and of the happiness of the whole human family. . . . Are we prepared to do away with a system of such tried and tested efficacy as no other country was ever happy enough to possess since the world was a world, to substitute for it a form of government of extreme simplicity, whose tendencies and peculiarities have been as carefully noted and recorded as those of any animal or vegetable with whose real nature we have no excuse for not being well acquainted—pure democracy ?

I am no proscriber of democracy. In America it answers its purpose very well ; in States like those of Greece it may have been desirable ; but for England, in its present state of development and civilisation, to make a step in the direction of democracy appears to me the strangest and wildest proposition that was ever broached by man. The good Government which America enjoys under her democracy—whatever estimate hon. gentlemen may be disposed to form of it—is absolutely unattainable by England under a democracy, and for this reason : America in her boundless and fertile lands has a resource which removes and carries off all the peccant political humours of the body politic. . . . The wealth which America possesses is of a kind which her people did not make, and which they cannot destroy ; it is due to the boundless beneficence of the Giver, beside Whose works those undertaken and executed by the human race sink into insignificance. The valleys even of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates seem ridiculously small when compared with the valley of the Mississippi, which it has been calculated would afford residence to 240,000,000 of people without overcrowding. No tumult, no sedition can ever destroy these natural advantages. But what is our prosperity like ? It is the fabric of the labour of generations, raised slowly and with infinite toil, and to continue it is indispensable that it should rest on secure foundations. . . .

I have been a Liberal all my life. I was a Liberal at a time and in places when it was not so easy to make professions of Liberalism as in the present day ; I suffered for my Liberal principles, but did so gladly because I had confidence in them, and because I never had occasion to recall a single conviction which I had deliberately arrived at. I have had the great happiness to see almost everything done by the decisions of this House, that I thought should be carried into effect, and I shall have full confidence in the progress of society to a degree incalculable to us. My mind is so constituted as to rely much on abstract principles, and I believe that by their application the happiness and prosperity of mankind may be enormously augmented. But for the very reason that I look forward to and hope for this amelioration—because I am a Liberal, and know that by fine and clear intelligence alone can the cause of true progress be promoted—I regard as one of the greatest dangers with which the country can be threatened a proposal to subvert the existing order of things, and to transfer power from the hands of property and intelligence, and place it in the hands of men whose whole life is necessarily occupied in daily struggle for existence.

I earnestly hope—and it is the object I have in view—that I may have done something to make men think on this question, to pick it out of the slough of despond in which it has wallowed. Sir, I have been weary and sickened at the way in which this question has been dealt with. The way in which the two parties have tossed this question from one to the other reminds me of nothing so much as a young lady and young gentleman playing at battledore and shuttlecock. After tossing the shuttlecock from one to the other a few times they let it drop, and begin to flirt. The great Liberal party may well be presumed to know its own business better than I do. I venture, however, to make this prediction, that

if they do unite their fortunes with the fortunes of democracy, as it is proposed they should do in the case of this measure, they will not miss one of two things : if they fail in carrying this measure they will ruin their party, and if they succeed in carrying this measure they will ruin their country.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on May 23rd, 1865, on the Second Reading of Sir Edward Baines's Borough Franchise Extension Bill.*

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

I am not afraid of the people of this country. They have displayed a good sense, which is remarkable indeed when contrasted with the harangues which have been addressed to them. But if I am not afraid of the people, neither do I agree with the right honourable gentleman the member for Huntingdon (Lord Robert Montagu), in fearing those by whom they are led. Demagogues are the commonplace of history. They are to be found wherever popular commotion has prevailed, and they all bear to one another a strong family likeness. Their names float lightly on the stream of time ; they are in some way handed down to us ; but then they are as little regarded as the foam which rides on the crest of the stormy wave, and bespatters the rock which it cannot shake. Such men, Sir, I do not fear ; but I have, I confess, some misgivings when I see a number of gentlemen of rank, of character, of property, and intelligence carried away, without being convinced, or even over-persuaded, in the support of a policy which many of them in their inmost hearts detest and abhor. Monarchies exist by royalty, aristocracies by honour, popular assemblies by political virtue and patriotism ; and it is in the loss of these things, and not in comets and eclipses, that we are to look for the portents that herald the fall of States. I have said that I am utterly unable to reason with the Chancellor of the Exchequer for want of a common principle to start from ; but there is happily one common ground left to us, and that is the Second Book of the *Æneid* of Virgil. My right honourable friend, like the moth which has singed its wings in the candle, has returned again to the poor old Trojan horse, and I shall, with the permission of the House, give them one more excerpt from the history of that noble beast, first promising that I shall then turn him out to grass, at all events for the remainder of the Session. The passage which I am about to quote is one which is, I think, worthy the attention of the House, because it contains a description of the invading army of which we have heard so much ; but also a slight sketch of its general—

Arduus armatos mediis in mœnibus adstans  
Fundit equus, victorque Simon incendia miscet  
Insultans : portis alii bipatentibus adsunt,  
Millia quot magnis, nunquam venere Myseius.

In other words :

The fatal horse pours forth the human tide,  
Insulting Simon flings his firebrands wide,  
The gates are burst ; the ancient rampart falls,       \*  
And swarming millions climb its crumbling walls.

I have now, Sir, traced as well as I can what I believe to be the natural results of a measure which, it seems to my poor imagination, is calculated, if it should pass into law, to destroy one after another those institutions which have secured for England an amount of happiness and prosperity which no country has ever reached, or is ever likely to attain. Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed at the shrine of revolutionary passion,

or the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity! But, if we do fall, we shall fall deservedly. Uncoerced by any external force, not borne down by any internal calamity, but in the full plethora of our wealth and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity, with our own rash and inconsiderate hands, we are about to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory. History may tell of other acts as signally disastrous, but of none more wanton, none more disgraceful.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on March, 1866.*

## LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, 1849-1895

**Statesman.** Third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough; graduated B.A. at Oxford in 1871. Entered Parliament as member for the family borough of Woodstock in 1874. As a member of the famous "Fourth Party" distinguished himself in the debates in Parliament during Mr. Gladstone's second Administration. On the accession to power of Lord Salisbury in 1885 he was appointed Secretary for India. In 1886, when Lord Salisbury formed his second Administration, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. Owing to a disagreement on questions of policy with the Premier he resigned on Dec. 22nd of the same year. He did not again hold office. He remained, however, a leading figure in political life until his death.

### MR. GLADSTONE'S EGYPTIAN POLICY

WE are gathered together this afternoon for a serious purpose; no other, indeed, than to pronounce, after due deliberation, the strongest and most resolute condemnation of Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy, and our detestation and abhorrence of the bloodshed and misery of which he has been the immediate and direct cause. I say Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy, because I utterly decline to recognise as responsible agents either his Ministerial colleagues or his Parliamentary supporters. Those parties have so wallowed in a stifling morass of the most degraded and servile worship of the Prime Minister that they have sunk below the level of slaves; they have become mere puppets, the objects of derision and contempt; they have lost all claim to the title of Englishmen, and I think they have lost all claim to the title of rational human beings. To give you an instance of the abject imbecility which has struck down the Liberal party, I would mention what occurred in the House of Commons on Thursday night. Mr. Forster in that great speech which he made that evening—a speech in which he promised one vote to the Government in the House of Commons, and alienated a hundred thousand votes from the Government in the country. Mr. Forster, I say, expressed the opinion that the Government ought to have rescued the garrison of Sinkat. "How?" cried out some importunate Liberals. "How?" was the plaintive cry they raised. "How?" shouted Mr. Forster, turning upon them, so that they wished themselves a hundred leagues under the sea. "How? why, by doing a fortnight earlier what they are doing now, sending British soldiers to the garrison's rescue." There is a good instance of the hopeless and incurable mental alienation to which the once free and independent Liberal Party have been reduced by Mr. Gladstone! It was indeed a melancholy spectacle.

I said that our purpose this afternoon was a serious one, and it is so. It is a serious thing for Englishmen to meet together in open day for the purpose of doing all they can to destroy a Government. But we are not alone. Thousands of your countrymen have already met, and thousands more will meet, animated by the same feelings as yourselves, and, like yourselves, resolved to exhaust their energies in a supreme effort to avert further disgrace from our name, future defeat

from our army, and ultimate ruin from our country, by dashing from his pride of place the evil and moonstruck Minister who has brought England into grievous peril. Perilous, I say, is our condition, for it is perilous for a country to shed human blood in vain ; it is perilous for a country to assume responsibilities which it is too cowardly to discharge ; it is perilous for a country to permit its foreign interests to be in such a condition that any morning we may awake to hear Europe demanding reparation and even vengeance. Once again, for the fourth time in four years, do the Ministry whose programme was peace, and whose component parts were Quakers, call upon you to give them authority to wage a bloody war. Of their former wars the results have been either infamous or futile—infamy in the South of Africa ; futility in the north of Africa. Will you, I ask, with these memories still fresh in your minds, permit these false guides again to direct your course ? There can be but one answer. If war is again to be waged ; if British blood and British treasure are again to be poured forth ; if the regeneration of Egypt and the East is once more to be taken in hand, then other heads must do the work, and other policies must be pursued. A Parliament which has long ceased to represent England must be dissolved, and a Ministry, for a parallel to which you must go back to the days of Shaftesbury or Lord North, must be placed on its trial by the people. We have to provide for the safety of the hero Gordon ; for the safety of the four thousand British soldiers sent to Suakim ; for the safety of the garrisons of the Soudan, thirty thousand souls in all, whose one and only hope is now reposed in you. Above all, we have to provide for the safety of our position in the Delta of the Nile. Shall labours such as these, interests so tremendous and so vital, be committed to the hands of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, men who have on their souls the blood of the massacre of Maiwand, the blood of the massacre of Laing's Nek, the blood of George Colley, the blood of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, and many other true and loyal subjects of the Crown in Ireland, the blood of Hicks Pasha and his ten thousand soldiers, the blood of the army of General Baker, the blood of Tewfik Bey and his five hundred heroes ? For four years this Ministry has literally waded in blood ; their hands are literally dripping and reeking with blood. From massacre to massacre they march, and their course is inevitably stamped upon the history of the world by an overflowing stream of blood. How many more of England's heroes—how many more of England's best and bravest, are to be sacrificed to the Moloch of Midlothian ? This, too, is shocking and horrible—the heartless indifference and callousness of the Liberal Party to narratives of slaughter and unutterable woe. Fifteen times did Mr. Gladstone on Tuesday night in his reply to the grave and measured accusations of Sir Stafford Northcote—fifteen times, I say, did he excite the laughter of his Liberal supporters with a frivolity which was too hideous to contemplate. Talk of Bulgarian atrocities ! Add them together, and even multiply them if you will, and you will not exceed the total of the atrocities and the infamies which have distinguished with an awful reputation the most blood-stained and withal the most cowardly Government which England has ever seen.—*From a Speech in the Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, on Feb. 16th, 1884.*

## WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, 1809-1898.

The illustrious statesman. Born at Liverpool, the son of Sir John Gladstone, Bart, of Fasque, county of Kincardine. Educated at Eton and Christchurch, Oxford. Entered Parliament in 1832 for Newark as a Conservative. First held Ministerial Office (Under-Secretary for the Colonies) in 1834, under Sir Robert Peel. Distinguished himself subsequently as an able exponent of Ministerial policy, particularly in 1842 in conducting the debates on the scheme for the revision of the British Tariff. He was elected member for the Oxford University in 1847, and four years later severed his connection with the Conservative Party. Thenceforward until his death he was an active member of the Liberal Party, and during the greater part of that period was mainly responsible for the shaping of its policy. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's Administration he showed consummate ability in the handling of financial questions. His brilliant success in this office paved the way to his appointment in 1865 as Leader of the House under Lord John Russell, and to his elevation to the Premiership in 1868. He filled the supreme office in the Government thrice subsequently—in 1880, 1886, and 1892. He retired from political life in 1894. His Administrations are associated with the passing of the Irish Church Bill, the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, the Ballot Act, and the Irish Land Bill, and with his unsuccessful attempts to secure the assent of Parliament to a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland. A man of unblemished reputation, high aims, unfaltering courage, and surpassing intellectual powers, he attained to a position in the public life of the country which few statesmen—even the greatest—have ever reached.

## IRISH CHURCH DISESTABLISHMENT

I BELIEVE I have now gone through the chief of the almost endless arrangements, and I have laid as well as I am able the plans of the Government before the committee. I will not venture to anticipate the judgment of the committee, but I trust the committee will be of opinion it is a plan at any rate loyal to the expectations we held out on a former occasion, and loyal to the people of England who believed our promises. I hope also the members of the committee may think that the best pains we could give have been applied in order to develop and mature the measure, and I say that with great submission to the judgment of gentlemen on this and on the other side of the House. It is a subject of legislation so exceedingly complex and varied that I have no doubt there must be errors, there must be omissions, and there may be many possible improvements; and we shall welcome from every side quite irrespective of differences of opinion on the outlines of the measure, suggestions which, when those outlines are decided upon, may tend to secure a more beneficial application of these funds to the welfare of the people of Ireland. I trust, Sir, that although its operation be stringent, and although we have not thought it politic or allowable to attempt to diminish its stringency by making it incomplete, the spirit towards the Church of Ireland as a religious communion, in which this measure has been considered and prepared by my colleagues and myself, has not been a spirit of unkindness.

Perhaps at this time it would be too much to expect to obtain full credit for any declaration of that kind. We are undoubtedly asking an educated, highly respected, and generally pious and zealous body of clergymen to undergo a great transition; we are asking a powerful and intelligent minority of the laity in Ireland, in connection with the Established Church, to abate a great part of the exceptional privileges they have enjoyed; but I do not feel that in making this demand upon them we are seeking to inflict an injury. I do not believe they are exclusively or even mainly responsible for the errors of English policy towards Ireland; I am quite certain that in many vital respects they have suffered by it; I believe that the free air they will breathe under a system of equality and justice, giving scope for the development of their great energies, with all the powers of



property and intelligence they will bring to bear, will make that Ireland which they love a country for them not less enviable and not less beloved in the future than it has been in the past. As respects the Church, I admit it is a case almost without exception. I do not know in what country so great a change, so great a transition has been proposed, and has been embodied in a legislative provision, by which the ministers of a religious communion that have enjoyed during so many ages the favoured position of an Established Church, will no longer remain in that position. I can well understand that to many among them such a change appears to be nothing less than ruin and destruction. From the height on which they now stand to the apparent abyss into which they think they will have to descend there is something that recalls the words used in *King Lear*, when Edgar endeavours to persuade Gloucester that he has fallen—from the cliffs of Dover. He says :

Ten masts at each make not the altitude  
Which thou hast perpendicularly fallen ;  
Thy life's miracle.

And yet but a little after the old man rallies from his delusion, and finds that he has not fallen at all. And so I venture to trust that when, stripped of the fictitious and adventitious aid upon which we have too long taught the Irish Establishment to lean, it shall come to place its trust in its own resources, in its own secret wisdom, in all that can draw forth the energies of its ministers and its members, and the high hopes and promises of the Gospel that it teaches, it will find that it has entered upon a new era of its existence, an era fraught with hope and promise. At any rate, I think the day has certainly come when an end has finally to be put to the union, not between the Church as a religious association, but between the Establishment and the State, which was commenced under circumstances little auspicious, and which has continued to bear fruits of unhappiness to Ireland and of discredit and scandal to England.

Sir, there is more to say. This measure is in every sense a great measure—great in its principle, great in the multitude not merely of its technical but of its important weighty and interesting provisions. It is not a great measure only, but it is a testing measure. It is a measure which will show to one and all of us of what metal we are made. Upon us all it brings a great responsibility—first and foremost undoubtedly upon us who occupy this bench. We are deeply chargeable—we are deeply guilty, if we have either dishonestly, as some think, or if we have even prematurely or unwisely, challenged so gigantic an issue. I know well the punishments that are due to rashness in public men ; and that ought to fall upon those men who with hands unequal to the task attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. But our responsibility, though heavy, is not exclusive. It passes on from us to every man who has to take part in the discussion and in the decision of this question. Every man who proceeds to the discussion is under the most solemn obligation to raise the level of his vision, and to expand its scope in proportion to the greatness of the object. The working of our constitutional Government itself is upon its trial, for I do not believe there ever was a time when the whole of the legislative machinery was set in motion under the conditions of peace and order and Constitutional regularity, to deal with a question graver or more profound. And more especially is the credit and fame of this great assembly involved. This assembly, which has inherited from so many long ages accumulated honour from numberless triumphs of peaceful but courageous legislation, is now called upon to address itself to a task which would indeed have demanded all the best energies of the very best of your fathers and your ancestors. I believe

it will prove to be worthy of the task. Should it fail, even the fame of the House of Commons will suffer no disparagement; should it succeed, even that fame, I venture to say, will receive no small nor insensible addition. I must not ask gentlemen opposite to concur in these few sentences, grateful as I am to them for the kindness with which they have heard the statement which I have made. But I beg and pray them to bear with me for a moment while, for myself and my colleagues, I say that we are sanguine of the issue. We believe this controversy is near its end, and, for my part, I am deeply convinced that, when the day of final consummation shall arise, and when the words are spoken that give the force of law to the work embodied in this measure—a work of peace and justice—those words will be echoed from every shore where the name of Ireland and the name of Great Britain have been heard; and the answer to them will come back in the approving verdict of civilised mankind.—*Conclusion of Speech delivered in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1869, in introducing the Irish Church Disestablishment Resolutions.*

#### PREACHING

We are here upon common ground. If there are differences among us, I am one of those who think that it is the business of any man of a manful character to sink those differences upon proper occasions only. Let him upon all occasions take care that they never become to him a cause of bitterness or evil-speaking.

But we are here upon common ground with a great and mighty function belonging, from the first especially, almost exclusively, to revealed religion, a function the efficacy of which must undoubtedly depend in the main upon the matter which is preached. We are here as Christians—and you are fitter, I have no doubt, to impress that upon me—and it is the preaching of Christ our Lord which is the secret and substance and centre and heart of all preaching, not merely of facts and notions about Him, but of His person, His word, His character, His simple yet unfathomable sayings here—His is the secret and art of preaching.

I am not here to touch upon those solemn portions of the subject, which are more fitly in the hands of others, as I understand the purpose you are proceeding upon is this conception, which I take to be a true one, that, independently of its great and sacred aim, and of the matter to be taught, preaching is an art; and that in the careful consideration of that art lie many secondary, but not unimportant, means for the more complete and perfect attainment of the end. With these we are all familiar. We know that the word, not in its theoretical sense, but as the briefest mode of expressing the art of business and conversation—the word in man is a great instrument of power. As long as three thousand years ago, among those ancient forefathers of the Greek nation from whom we have still in many things much to learn, and in whom we find a multitude of points of sympathy, it is most remarkable that the great orator, the great poet who has commemorated their deeds, and who lived in a time of turbulence and war, nevertheless places one other instrument of power upon a level with the sword, and that is the word proceeding from the mouth of man. Well, now this word has to be consecrated to aims most high and solemn, which were in great part hidden from the men of those days, but the more high and solemn the aim the greater ought to be the care that the means for attaining such an end are carefully considered and wisely employed. Now it is difficult on this occasion to avoid—yet I am unwilling to assume—the character of a critic, for it appears we have only the choice of criticising the preacher or criticising the hearer. But I cannot

avoid expressing my strong concurrence in that which was said by your respected pastor, Dr. Parker, and by Mr. Sawyer. I think that, upon the whole, at least I speak of the religious body with which I am chiefly conversant, I think the pulpit gets somewhat less than justice from those who sit beneath it. Anyhow, that complaint of commonplaces is a complaint doubtless very often urged with truth, but sometimes urged without sufficient warranty or justification.

Dr. Parker has well told us that the most essential elements and constituents of life are in those commonplaces of life, and while he spoke I bethought myself, of which I take to be the truth, that the real reason in a large number of cases, though I by no means say in all, why the declarations from the pulpit are thought to be commonplaces is because there is some deficiency in that healthy appetite by which they ought to be received by the pew. He reminded me of an illustration which I think is apposite in one of the short but beautiful poems by Gray—and Gray never wrote anything that was not beautiful—in which he describes the case of an invalid whose recovered health just enables him to go forth from his home and return to the beginnings, at least, of common life :

The common air, the sun, the skies  
To him were opening Paradise.

What can be more common than the air, the sun, the skies ? But to him they were "opening Paradise," not because they were anything more in themselves than they were for the multitudes who wander under them unheeding and ungrateful, but because by the stern lesson of his privations he had learned how precious they were ; and returning energy and health made him know the high value of those blessings ; and so I am convinced that, in proportion as that healthy appetite can be encouraged and stimulated, the range of these complaints of commonplaces will be greatly and materially narrowed. I deny not that there are cases in which it may apply, but here I will remind you of an old couplet of one of our sacred poets—I mean the excellent George Herbert :

The worst of preachers have something good : if all want sense,  
God takes a text and preacheth patience.

So much for the subject of commonplaces.

I will venture to say one word upon another, but it will be one word only, for it is too vast to be touched except incidentally, that is, the subject of the relation of the office of preaching to science. There are some who are connected with science who seem to think it is a part of their mission to put an end to preaching. My belief is, that as long as mankind subsists preaching and science will both have their places in the field of life ; and if I were to wager, I would just as readily wager in favour of the longevity of preaching as I would on the longevity of science. I will venture to say as much as this, and I hope it will not be misunderstood. I quite comprehend that it is no part of the ordinary business of preaching to puzzle and disturb men's minds by wandering into questions which are for them, to a great extent, and in the majority of cases, abstract and speculative questions, lying outside the path of life, instead of intruding the path of duty in life. But when I ask myself why it is at this moment that the tone of so many professors of science is so harsh, so unkindly, and so domineering towards that precious gem and jewel, religion, which is the hope of human kind, I cannot but admit to myself that it is in part a reaction from a state of things, and that those who had believed in religion, and professed religion, and even taught religion, have in various ways been not sufficiently careful at all times to avoid placing

stumbling-blocks in the way of their brethren by fictitious modes of representing divine truth by those accretions of opinion adhering to the body of the Gospel which, growing by a process of nature—which do not belong exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church, or to any Church in particular, which, by the process of nature, are ever in necessary growth, and which there is a tendency in us belonging to our habits, and which there is a tendency in us too much to treat, perhaps, as portions of the Gospel; and, on the contrary, they only, perhaps, tend to obscure, and even bar the way, in many enlightened minds. I am persuaded that it is a precept of great practical importance that not only the substance of the thing taught, but the manner of the thing taught, should be continuously studied, that the precept not to offend “one of these little ones” should be remembered in its application not merely to those who know themselves to be little ones, but to all who are little ones in reference to divine truth and knowledge, even if they be rich in the cultivation and science that this world can give them.—*From a Speech at the City Temple, March 22nd, 1877, at a Conference on “Pew and Pulpit.”*

#### OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES

Sir, there were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high aspiration was entertained or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned—to this favourite, this darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people that had built up a noble edifice for themselves would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the benefit of the same inestimable boon for others. You talk to me of the established tradition, in regard to Turkey. I appeal to the established tradition, older, wider, nobler far—a tradition not which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the promotion of those interests in obeying the dictates of honour and of justice. And, Sir, what is to be the end of this? Are we to identify the fantastic ideas some people entertain about this policy and that policy with British interests, and then fall down and worship them? Or are we to look, not at the sentiment, but at the hard facts of the case, which Lord Derby told us fifteen years ago—namely, that it is the populations of those countries that will ultimately possess them—that will ultimately determine their future condition? It is to this that we should look, and there is now before the world a glorious prize. A portion of those people are making an effort to retrieve what they have lost—I mean those in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another portion—a band of heroes such as the world has rarely seen—stand on the rock of Montenegro, are ready now, as they have ever been during the four hundred years of their exile from their fertile plain, to meet the Turk at any odds for the re-establishment of justice and of peace in those countries. Another portion still, the five millions of Bulgarians cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look upwards, even to their Father in heaven, have extended their hands to you, they have sent you their petition, they have prayed for your help and protection. They have told you that they do not want alliance with Russia or with any foreign power, but that they want to be delivered from an intolerable burden of woe and shame. That burden of woe and shame—the greatest that exists on God’s earth—is one that we thought united Europe was about to remove, that in the Protocol united Europe was pledged to remove; but which for the present you seem to have no efficacious means of contributing to the removal of. But, Sir, the removal of that load of woe and shame is a great and noble prize. It is a prize well worth competing for. It is not yet too late

to try to win it. I believe there are men in the Cabinet who would try to win it. It is not yet too late, I say, to become competitors for that prize ; but be assured that whether you mean to claim for yourselves a part of that immortal crown of fame which will be the reward of true labour in that cause, or whether you turn your backs upon that cause and your own duty, I believe, for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in those provinces has sounded. It is about to be destroyed, perhaps not in the way or by the means that we should choose ; but come the boon from what hands it may, I believe it will be gladly accepted by Christendom and by the world.—*From a Speech delivered in the House of Commons on May 7th, 1877, in support of Resolutions urging British support for the movement in favour of Self-Government for the Christian Provinces of Turkey.*

#### THE BEACONSFIELD MINISTRY

Gentlemen, it still remains for me to ask you how this great and powerful Government has performed its duty of maintaining the integrity and independence of Turkey. It has had great and extraordinary advantages. It has had the advantage of disciplined support from its majority in the House of Commons. Though I am not making any complaint, as my friend in the chair knows, it was not exactly the same as happened in the days of recent Liberal Governments. It had had unflinching and incessant support from the large majority of Lords. That was very far from being our case in our day. There is no reason why I should not say so. I say freely—it is an historical fact—that the House of Lords, when the people's representatives are backed by a strong national feeling, when it would be dangerous to oppose, confront, or resist, then the House of Lords pass our measures. So they passed the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and so they passed the Irish Land Act ; and I have no doubt that, if it pleases the Almighty, they will pass many more good measures. But the moment people go to sleep—and they cannot be always awake—when public opinion flags and ceases to take a strong and decided interest in public questions, that moment the majority of the House of Lords grows. They mangle, they postpone, they reject the good measures that go up to them.

I will show you another advantage which the present Administration possesses. They are supported by several foreign Governments. Did you read in the London papers within the last few weeks an account of the energetic support they derived from the Emperor of Austria ? Did you see that the Emperor of Austria sent for the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot, and told him that a persistent person, a certain individual named Mr. Gladstone, was a man who did not approve the foreign policy of Austria, and how anxious he was—so the Emperor of Austria was pleased complacently to say—for the guidance of the British people and of the electors of Midlothian—how anxious he was that you should, all of you, give your votes in a way to maintain the Ministry of Lord Beaconsfield ? Well, gentlemen, if you approve the foreign policy of Austria, the foreign policy that Austria has usually pursued, I advise you to do that very thing ; if you want to have an Austrian foreign policy dominant in the councils of this country, give your votes as the Emperor of Austria recommends. What has that foreign policy of Austria been ? I do not say that Austria is incurable.

I hope it will yet be cured, because it has got better institutions at home, and I heartily wish it well if it makes honest attempts to confront its difficulties. Yet I must look to what that policy has been. Austria has ever been the unflinching foe of freedom in every country in Europe. Austria trampled under foot, Austria

resisted the unity of Germany. Russia, I am sorry to say, has been the foe of freedom too; but in Russia there is an exception. Russia has been the friend of Slavonic freedom; but Austria has never been the friend even of Slavonic freedom. Austria did all she could to prevent the creation of Belgium. Austria never lifted a finger for the regeneration and constitution of Greece. There is not an instance—there is not a spot upon the whole map where you can lay your finger and say, “There Austria did good.” I speak of its general policy; I speak of its general tendency. I do not abandon the hope of improvement in the future, but we must look to the past and to the present for the guidance of our judgments at this moment. And in the Congress of Berlin, Austria resisted the extension of freedom and did not promote it; and therefore, I say, if you want the spirit of Austria to inspire the councils of this country, in Heaven’s name take the Emperor’s counsel; and I advise you to lift the Austrian flag when you go about your purposes of canvass or of public meetings. It will best express the purpose you have in view, and I, for one, cannot complain of your consistency, whatever, in that case, I might think of the tendency of your views in respect of principle, of justice, of the happiness of mankind, or of the greatness, the dignity, and the honour of this great Empire.

But, gentlemen, still one word more, because I have not spoken of what has been the upshot of all this. There are a great many persons in this country, I am afraid, as well as in other countries, who are what is called Worshippers of Success, and at the time of the famous “Peace with Honour” demonstration there was a very great appearance of success. I was not myself at that time particularly safe when I walked in the streets of London. I have walked with my wife from my own house, I have walked owing my protection to the police; but that was the time, gentlemen, when all those curious methods of maintaining British honour and British dignity were supposed to have been wonderfully successful. And now I want to ask you, as I have shown you the way we went about maintaining the independence and integrity of Belgium—what has become of the independence and integrity of Turkey? I have shown that they neither knew in the first instance the ends towards which they should first have directed their efforts, nor, when they have chosen ends, have they been able rationally to adapt their means to the attainment of those ends. I am not speaking of the moral character of the means, but how they are adapted to the end. And what did the vote of six millions achieve for Turkey? I will tell you what it achieved. It did achieve one result, and I want you well to consider whether you are satisfied with it or not, especially those of you who are Conservatives. It undoubtedly cut down largely the division of Bulgaria, established by the treaty of San Stefano. Now, I am not going to maintain that that division was a right one, for that depends on a knowledge more minute than I possess; but the effect of it was to cut it down as is perfectly well known—that is, put back under the direct rule of the Sultan of Turkey, and in the exact condition in which all European Turkey, except the Principalities, had been before the war, the population inhabiting the country of Macedonia, and about a million of people, the vast majority of them Christians. Two substantive and definite results, the two most definite results produced, were these—first of all, that Bessarabia, that had been a country with free institutions, was handed back to despotism; and secondly, a million and a half of people inhabiting Macedonia, to whom free institutions had been promised by the treaty of San Stefano, are now again placed under the Turkish Pashas, and have not received one grain of benefit of importance as compared with their condition before the war.

But how as regards Turkey? I have shown results bad enough in regard to freedom. What did the British Plenipotentiaries say at Berlin? They said that some people seemed to suppose we had come to cut and carve Turkey. "That is quite a mistake," said the Plenipotentiaries; "we have come to consolidate Turkey." Some of the scribes of the Foreign Office coined a new word, and said it was to "rejuvenate" Turkey. How did they rejuvenate this unfortunate Empire, this miserable Empire, this unhappy Government which they have lured into war and allowed and encouraged to pass into war because they allowed their ambassadors at Constantinople, Sir Henry Elliot and Sir Austen Layard, to whisper into the ear of the Turk that British interests would compel us to interfere and help her? What has been the result to Turkey? Now, I will say, much as the Christian populations have the right to complain, the Sultan of Turkey has a right to complain very little less. How has the Sultan been treated? We condescend to obtain from him the island of Cyprus, at a time when Austria was pulling at him on one side and freedom on the other. We condescended to take from him that miserable paltry share of the spoil. That is not all. What is the condition of Turkey in Europe? It is neither integrity nor independence. The Sultan is liable to interference at any moment, at every point of his territory, from every one that signed the Treaty of Berlin. He has lost ten millions of subjects altogether, ten millions more are in some kind of dependence or other—in a condition that the Sultan does not know whether they will be his subjects to-morrow or the next day. Albania is possessed by a leaguc. Macedonia, as you read in the papers, is traversed by brigands. Thessaly and Epirus, according to the Treaty of Berlin, should be given to Greece. The treasury of Turkey is perfectly empty, disturbances have spread through Turkey in Asia, and the condition of that Government whose integrity and independence you were told that "Peace with Honour" had secured, is more miserable than at any previous period of its history; and wise and merciful indeed would be the man that would devise some method of improving it.

To those gentlemen who talk of the great vigour and determination and success of the Tory Government, I ask you to compare the case of Belgium and Turkey. Try them by principles, or try them by results, I care not which, we knew what we were about, and what was to be done when we had integrity and independence to support. When they had integrity and independence to protect, they talked, indeed, loud enough about supporting Turkey, and you would suppose they were prepared to spend their whole resources upon it; but all their measures have ended in nothing except that they have reduced Turkey to a state of greater weakness than at any portion of her history, whereas, on the other hand, in regard to the twelve or thirteen millions of slaves and Roumanian population, they have made the name of England odious throughout the whole population, and done everything in their power to throw that population into the arms of Russia, to be the tool of Russia in its plans and schemes, unless, indeed, as I hope and am inclined to believe, the virtue of free institutions they have obtained will make them too wise to become the tools of any foreign power whatever, will make them intent upon maintaining their own liberties, as becomes a free people playing a noble part in the history of Europe.

I have detained you too long, and I will rest, though I would pursue this subject further. I have shown you what I think the miserable failure of the policy of the Government. Remember, we have a fixed point from which to draw our measurements. Remember what in 1876 the proposal of those who approved of the Bulgarian agitation and who were denounced as the enemies of Turkey,

remember what that proposal would have done. It would have given autonomy to Bulgaria, which has now got autonomy; but it would have saved all the remainder at less detriment to the rest of the Turkish Empire. Turkey would have had a fair chance. Turkey would not have suffered the territorial losses which she has elsewhere suffered, and which she has suffered, I must say, in consequence of her being betrayed into the false and mischievous, the tempting and seductive, but unreal and unwise policy of the present Administration.

There are other matters which must be reserved for other times. We are told about the Crimean War. Sir Stafford Northcote tells us the Crimean War, made by the Liberal Government, cost the country £40,000,000 of debt, and an income-tax of 1s. 4d. per pound. Now what is the use of telling us that? I will discuss the Crimean War on some future occasion, but not now. If the Liberal Government were so clever, that they contrived to burden the country with £40,000,000 of debt for this Crimean War, why does he not go back to the war before that, and tell us what the Tory Government did with the Revolutionary War, when they left a debt on the country of some £900,000,000, of which £650,000,000 they had made in the Revolutionary War, and not only so, but left the blessing and legacy of the Corn Laws, and of a high protective system, an impoverished country, and a discontented population. So much so that for years that followed that great Revolutionary War, no man could say whether the Constitution of this country was or was not worth five years' purchase. They might even go further back than the Revolutionary War. They have been talking loudly of the Colonies, and say that, forsooth, the Liberal Party do nothing for the Colonies. What did the Tory Party do for the Colonies? I can tell you. Go to the war that preceded the Revolutionary War. They made war against the American Continent. They added to the debt of the country £200,000,000 in order to destroy freedom in America. They alienated it and drove it from this country. They were compelled to bring this country to make an ignominious peace; and, as far as I know, that attempt to put down freedom in America, with its results to this country, is the only one great fact which has ever distinguished the relations between a Tory Government and the Colonies.

But, gentlemen, these must be matters postponed for another occasion. I thank you very cordially, both friends and opponents, if opponents you be, for the extreme kindness with which you have heard me. I have spoken, and I must speak in very strong terms of the acts done by my opponents. I will never say that they did it from vindictiveness, I will never say that they did it from passion, I will never say that they did it from a sordid love of office; I have no right to use such words; I have no right to entertain such sentiments; I repudiate and adjure them. I give them credit for patriotic motives—I give them credit for those patriotic motives, which are incessantly and gratuitously denied to us. I believe we are all united in a fond attachment to the great country to which we belong, to the great Empire which has committed to it a trust and function from Providence, as special and remarkable as was ever entrusted to any portion of the family of man. When I speak of that trust and that function I feel that words fail. I cannot tell you what I think of the nobleness of the inheritance which has descended upon us, of the sacredness of the duty of maintaining it. I will not condescend to make it a part of controversial politics. It is a part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have laboured through my youth and manhood, and, more than that, till my hairs are grey. In that faith and practice I shall die.—*From a Speech at Edinburgh on March 17th, 1880, in conducting the famous "Midlothian Campaign."*



## WENDELL PHILLIPS, 1811—1884

American reformer and abolitionist. Born at Boston.

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT

I CLAIM, before you who know the true state of the case, I claim for the anti-slavery movement with which this Society is identified, that, looking back over its whole course, and considering the men connected with it in the mass, it has been marked by sound judgment, unerring foresight, the most sagacious adaptation of means to ends, the strictest self-discipline, the most thorough research, and an amount of patient and manly argument addressed to the conscience and intellect of the nation, such as no other cause of the kind, in England or this country, has ever offered. I claim also that its course has been marked by a cheerful surrender of all individual claims to merit or leadership, the most cordial welcome of the slightest effort, of every honest attempt, to lighten or to break the chain of the slave. I need not waste time by repeating the superfluous confession that we are men, and therefore do not claim to be perfect. Neither would I be understood as denying that we use denunciation, and ridicule, and every other weapon that the human mind knows. We must plead guilty, if there be guilt in not knowing how to separate the sin from the sinner. With all the fondness for abstractions attributed to us, we are not yet capable of that.

We are fighting a momentous battle at desperate odds—one against a thousand. Every weapon that ability or ignorance, wit, wealth, prejudice, or fashion can command, is pointed against us. The guns are shotted to their lips. The arrows are poisoned. Fighting against such an array we cannot afford to confine ourselves to any one weapon. The cause is not ours, so that we might rightfully postpone or put in peril the victory by moderating our demands, stifling our convictions, or filing down our rebukes, to gratify any sickly taste of our own, or to spare the delicate nerves of our neighbour. Our clients are three millions of Christian slaves, standing dumb suppliants at the threshold of the Christian world. They have no voice but ours to utter their complaints, or to demand justice. The press, the pulpit, the wealth, the literature, the prejudices, the political arrangements, the present self-interest of the country are all against us. God has given us no weapon but the truth, faithfully uttered and addressed, with the old prophet's directness, to the conscience of the individual sinner. The elements which control public opinion and mould the masses are against us. We can but pick off here and there a man from the triumphant majority. We have facts for those who think, arguments for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices must be laughed out of them; he who cannot be argued out of his selfishness must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes.

We live in a land where every man makes broad his phylactery, inscribing thereon, "All men are created equal"—"God hath made of one blood all nations of men." It seems to us that in such a land there must be, on this question of slavery, sluggards to be awakened, as well as doubters to be convinced. Many more, we verily believe, of the first than of the last. There are far more dead hearts to be quickened than confused intellects to be cleared up, more dumb dogs to be made to speak than doubting consciences to be enlightened. We have use, then, sometimes for something besides argument.

What is the denunciation with which we are charged? It is endeavouring, in our faltering human speech, to declare the enormity of the sin of making mer-

chandise of men—of separating husband and wife—taking the infant from its mother and selling the daughter to prostitution; of a professedly Christian nation denying, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population, and making it illegal for “two or three” to meet together except a white man be present! What is this harsh criticism of motives with which we are charged? It is simply holding the intelligent and deliberate actor responsible for the character and consequences of his acts. Is there anything inherently wrong in such denunciation of such criticism? This we may claim—we have never judged a man but out of his own mouth. We have seldom, if ever, held him to account, except for acts of which he and his own friends were proud. All that we ask the world and thoughtful men to note are the principles and deeds on which the American pulpit and American public men plume themselves. We always allow our opponents to paint their own pictures. Our humble duty is to stand by and assure the spectators that what they would take for a knave or a hypocrite is really, in American estimation, a Doctor of Divinity or a Secretary of State.

The South is one great brothel, where half a million of women are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are degraded to believe it honourable. The public squares of half our great cities echo to the wail of families torn asunder at the auction block; no one of our fair rivers that has not closed over the negro seeking in death a refuge from a life too wretched to bear; thousands of fugitives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their names, and trembling at the sight of a human being; free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged into that hell of slavery; and now and then one, as if by miracle, after long years returns to make men aghast with his tale. The press says, “It is all right,” and the pulpit cries, “Amen.” They print the Bible in every tongue in which man utters his prayers; and they get the money to do so by agreeing never to give the book in the language our mothers taught us, to any negro, free or bond, south of Mason and Dixon’s line. The press says, “It is all right,” and the pulpit cries, “Amen.” The slave lifts up his imploring eyes, and sees in every face but ours the face of an enemy. Prove to me now that harsh rebuke, indignant denunciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule are wholly and always unjustifiable; else we dare not in so desperate a case throw away any weapon which ever broke up the crust of an ignorant prejudice, roused a slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or changed in any way the conduct of a human being. Our aim is to alter public opinion. Did we live in a market, our talk should be of dollars and cents, and we would seek to prove only that slavery was an unprofitable investment. Were the nation one great, pure Church, we would sit down and reason of “righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.” Had slavery fortified itself in a college, we would load our cannons with cold facts, and wing our arrows with arguments. But we happen to live in the world—the world made up of thought and impulse, of self-conceit and self-interest, of weak men and wicked. To conquer we must reach all. Our object is not to make every man a Christian or a philosopher, but to induce every one to aid in the abolition of slavery. We expect to accomplish our object long before the nation is made over into saints or elevated into philosophers. To change public opinion we use the very tools by which it was formed; that is, all such as an honest man may touch.

All this I am not only ready to allow, but I should be ashamed to think of the slave, or to look into the face of my fellow-man, if it were otherwise. It is the only thing which justifies us to our own consciences, and makes us able to say we have done, or at least tried to do, our duty.—*From Address on the Abolition Movement before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at Boston, Jan 27th, 1853.*

LORD RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN (SIR CHARLES RUSSELL),  
1833-1900

Eminent advocate. Born at Newry, in Ireland, and educated at Castle Knock College and Trinity College, Dublin, he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in May, 1859, and appointed Queen's Counsel in 1872. Entered Parliament as member for Dundalk in 1880, and became Attorney-General in 1886. He was re-appointed to the same office on Mr. Gladstone's return to power in 1892. He resigned in 1894 on his appointment as Lord Chief Justice. He was a great success as a judge, but he will be best remembered as the most brilliant advocate of his day. The selection given is from his speech in the Parnell Commission,\* in which he appeared as the leading counsel for the defence.

IRELAND'S WRONGS

WE are told that there are signs of returning prosperity in Ireland—a gleam of returning health across the face of the country. If it be so, fervently I would say *Deo gratias*. We are told that crime is lessened in Ireland. If it be so, again I would say *Deo gratias*. But, my Lords, it cannot be a sound, it cannot be a healthy, it cannot be a stable state of things, while such scenes as are now (in relation to this very land question) being enacted in Donegal; and where there were no less than twenty-five members—representative members of the Irish people—sent to prison. If they have committed crimes odious to men's moral sense, by all means if they were ten times members of Parliament, let them be sent there; but the significant condition of things in their regard is this, that they are not even in this land—even in this *free* land of England—regarded by a large section of its community as criminals, while in their own land they are regarded as heroes and martyrs in a sacred cause! My Lords, I will not pursue the subject, though I might desire to say more upon it. I will, however, say this much. This I believe to be the true, the best guarantee for peace and order, in the prevention of the recurrence of the painful crime that your Lordships have been inquiring into, is in the belief and hope, strong in Irish breasts to-day, that the time has come when the state of things that has caused this must come to an end.

My Lords, for their work in bringing this “consummation, devoutly to be wished” close at hand, the Irish party stands before your Lordships' bar to-day. They can point to marvellous work in ten years; marvellous in the condition in which that work has been accomplished. Then, in the beginning of those years, it is no exaggeration to say the Irish peasant farmer stood trembling, “with bated breath and whispering humbleness,” in the presence of landlord, agent, bailiff, for that man's fate was verily in the hollow of their hands. He had no spur to industry, and no security that he should reap where he had sown.

To-day he can stand erect as becomes a free citizen in a free community; and although the charter of his liberty may not yet be complete, he has derived solid protection from the legislation of 1881, and the subsequent legislation which the action—the agitation, as it has been called—of these men has helped to accomplish.

My Lords, then, too, with a restricted narrow franchise Ireland spoke with an uncertain, with a stifled voice; now with fuller franchise Ireland speaks as a practically united people. Then, my Lords, secret organisations burrowed beneath the surface of society, and constituted a great political and social factor in the land. To-day, thank God for it, the great mass of the people have been won to bending

\* The Parnell Commission was constituted under Act of Parliament for the purpose of inquiring into certain charges and allegations chiefly relating to incitement to crime and outrage made against Charles Stewart Parnell and other members of the Irish Nationalist party. The proceedings commenced on October 22nd, 1888, and lasted for several months, the concluding sitting being held on November 22nd, 1889.

their energies and fixing their hopes upon constitutional means of redress. Then, my Lords, the great mass of the people were possessed with the feeling of despair for past efforts made and unrequited sacrifices; to-day hope is strong and is buoyant in their breasts. Then they looked upon their countrymen in this land with distrust if not with hate; to-day they are willing to hold out the hand of brotherly friendship—to let bygones be bygones, and let for ever be buried the memories of the persecutions and the miseries of bygone days. Then, my Lords—perhaps the most hopeful change of all—the people of this country, busied with their own concerns, knew little and thought little of, and cared little for, Ireland. Now they have taken this question to heart, and, recognising the truth that misrule in Ireland means weakness to the Empire, they have in recent years manifested an interest in the solution of this question formerly unknown.

My Lords, I have come to an end. I cannot sit down without expressing the obligation I owe to your Lordships, not only for an attentive but an indulgent hearing. I have spoken not merely as an advocate. I have spoken for the land of my birth. But I feel, and profoundly feel, that I have been speaking for and in the best interests of England also, where my years of laborious life have been passed, and where I have received kindness, consideration, and regard which I shall be glad to make some attempt to repay. My Lords, my colleagues and myself have had a responsible duty. We have had to defend not merely the leaders of a nation, but the nation itself. To defend the leaders of a nation whom it was sought to crush; to defend the nation whose hopes it was sought to dash to the ground. This inquiry, intended as a curse, has proved a blessing. Designed, prominently designed, to ruin one man, it has been his vindication. In opening this case I said that we represent the accused. My Lords, I claim leave to say that to-day the positions are reversed. We are the accusers; the accused are there! (pointing to the Counsel for the prosecution) I hope—I believe that this inquiry in its present stage has served, and in its future development will serve, more purposes even than the vindication of individuals. It will remove baneful misconceptions as to the character, the actions, the motives, the aims of the Irish people, and of the leaders of the Irish people. It will set earnest minds—thank God there are many earnest and honest minds in this land—thinking for themselves upon this question. It will soften ancient prejudice. It will hasten the day of true union, and of real reconciliation between the people of Ireland and the people of Great Britain, and with the advent of that union and reconciliation will be dispelled, and dispelled for ever, the cloud—the weighty cloud—that has rested on the history of a noble race and dimmed the glory of a mighty Empire.—*From the Speech for the Defence in the Parnell Commission, delivered on April 2nd, 1889.*

### JOSEPH COWEN, 1831

Born at Blayden Rows, Durham, he received his education at Edinburgh University. At the death of his father, Sir Joseph Cowen, in 1873, he entered Parliament as member for Newcastle. He made himself famous at Westminster by his strenuous advocacy of the cause of the oppressed European nationalities, and by his strong Imperialist speeches. After the dissolution of 1886 Mr. Cowen did not offer himself for re-election.

### BRITAIN'S MISSION

ENGLAND is not so many square roods of land, but a nation whose people are united in love of soil and race, by mutual sympathy and tradition, by character and institutions. It is not a fortuitous concourse of individuals merely bound

over to keep the peace towards each other, and for the rest following their own selfish objects, and crying outside their own cottage, counting-house, or country, "Let everything take its course." Our country is something more than the mere workshop of the world, a manufactory for flashy clothing, and a market for cheap goods. We are pledged to each other as citizens of a great nationality, and by solidarity of life. We owe a duty to ourselves, to our families, and to our country, and also to our generation and to the future. We have grown great, not merely by the extent of our possessions and the fertility of our soil, but by the preservation of our liberties and the energy and enterprise of our people. The present generation is the outcome of centuries of effort.

The history of England is woven and interwoven, laced and interlaced, with the history of Europe and the world for a thousand years. Wherever liberty has struggled successfully, or wherever it has suffered in vain, there our sympathies have gone. There is nothing in human affairs that can be foreign to us. Wealth almost beyond the dreams of avarice, territorial possessions, and education bring with them heavy responsibilities. Power, to the very last particle of it, is duty. Unto whom much is given, of him much will be required.

As we have inherited, so we have to transmit. No one can look slightly on the results which rest upon our national resolves. But if ever a nation, drunk with the fumes of power and wealth, makes an apotheosis of gold and material pleasure, prefers riches to duty, comfort to courage, selfish enjoyment to heroic effort and sacrifice, it sinks in the respect of others, and loses the first and strongest incentive to human effort. Great work demands great efforts, and great effort is the life and soul both of individuals and nations. I contend, therefore, for these two principles—the integrity of the Empire, and the interest, the right, and the duty of England to play her part in the great battle of the world, as did our illustrious ancestors, the forerunners of European freedom.

### THE HON. SIR ALFRED WILLS, 1828

Born at Birmingham, Mr. Justice Wills was educated at the Proprietary School, Edgbaston, and University College, London. In 1851 he was called as a barrister at the Middle Temple, became Queen's Counsel in 1872, and was Recorder of Sheffield from 1881 to 1884. He was made a judge in 1884, and was President of the Railway and Canal Commission from 1888 to 1893.

#### HIGH TREASON

ARTHUR ALFRED LYNCH, otherwise Arthur Lynch, the jury have found you guilty of the crime of high treason, a crime happily so rare that in the present day a trial for treason seems to be almost an anachronism—a thing of the past. There can be no doubt that in times gone by there was great abuse, and many persons were indicted, convicted, and punished for matters which would not now be thought serious or worth, perhaps, any notice. There has been a kind of national reaction by which many persons have been disposed to treat serious crimes against the State as in the name of treason, and as if the thing, no longer existed. One moment of reflection will show you how erroneous is such a conception. Civilised communities exist for the purpose of mutual succour and support. They afford protection to their subjects from foreign aggression and domestic violence and wrong, and they expect in return loyalty and allegiance. No civilised community yet has failed to punish severely, when it has once been made out, defection from that loyalty, whether by way of open war or secret intrigue; and if every one who

disapproves of the foreign or domestic policy of his country was at liberty to take up arms against her and to attempt to join her enemies to her destruction, the very foundations of civilized society would be gone, and violence and anarchy would take the place of ordered government. The misdeeds which have been done in this case, and which have brought you to the lamentable pass in which you stand, must surely convince the most sceptical and apathetic of the gravity and reality of the crime. What was your action in the darkest hour of your country's fortunes, when she was engaged in the deadly struggle from which she has just emerged? You joined the ranks of your country's foes. Born in Australia, a land which has nobly shown its devotion to its parent country, you have indeed taken a different course from that which was adopted by her sons. You have fought against your country, not with it. You have sought, as far as you could, to dethrone Great Britain from her place among the nations, to make her name a byword and a reproach, a synonym for weakness and irresolution. Nor can I forget that you have shed the blood, or done your best to shed the blood, of your countrymen who were fighting for their country. How many wives have been made widows, how many children orphans, by what you and those who acted under your command have done Heaven only knows! You thought it safe at that dark hour of the Empire's fate, when Ladysmith, when Kimberley, when Mafeking, were in the very jaws of deadly peril—you thought it safe, no doubt, to lift the parricidal hand against your country. You thought she would shrink from the costly struggle wearied out by her gigantic efforts, and that, at the worst, a general peace would be made which would comprehend a general amnesty and cover up such acts as yours and save you from personal peril. You misjudged your country and failed to appreciate that, though slow to enter into a quarrel, however slow to take up arms, it has yet been her wont that in the quarrel she shall bear herself so that the opposer may beware of her, and that she is seldom so dangerous to her enemies as when the hour of national calamity has raised the dormant energies of her people—knit together every nerve and fibre of the body politic, and has made her sons determined to do all, to bear all, to sacrifice all on behalf of the country that gave them birth. And against what a Sovereign and what a country did you lift your hand. A Sovereign the best beloved and most deeply honoured of all the long line of English Kings and Queens, and whose lamented death was called back to my remembrance only yesterday as a fresh sorrow to many an English household. Against a country which has been the home of progress and freedom, and under whose beneficent sway, whenever you have chosen to stay within her dominions, you have enjoyed a liberty of person, a freedom of speech and action, such as you can have in no other country in Europe, and it is not too much to say in no other country in the world. The only—I will not say excuse, but palliation that I can find for conduct like yours is that it has been for some years past the fashion to treat lightly matters of this kind, so that men have been perhaps encouraged to play with sedition and to toy with treason, wrapt in a certain proud consciousness of strength begotten of the deep-seated and well-founded conviction that the loyalty of her people is supreme, and true authority in this country has slumbered or has treated with contemptuous indifference speeches and acts of sedition. It may be that you have been misled into the notion that, no matter what you did, so long as your conduct could be called a political crime, it was of no consequence. But it is one thing to talk sedition and to do small seditious acts, it is quite another thing to bear arms in the ranks of the foes of your country, and against it. Between the two the difference is immeasurable. But had you and those with whom you associated yourself succeeded, what fatal mischief might have been done to the

great inheritance which has been bequeathed to us by our forefathers—that inheritance of power which it must be our work to use nobly and for good things ; an inheritance of influence which will be of little effect even for good unless backed by power, and of duty which cannot be effectually performed if our power be shattered and our influence impaired. He who has attempted to do his country such irreparable wrong must be prepared to submit to the sentence which it is now my duty to pronounce upon you. The sentence of this Court—and it is pronounced in regard to each count of the indictment—is that you be taken hence to the place from which you came, and from thence to a place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck until you are dead.—*Address delivered in the King's Bench Division, High Court of Justice, on January 23rd, 1903, in passing sentence on "Colonel" Lynch, Member-Elect for the Borough of Galway, on being found guilty of High Treason after a trial at Bar.*

### THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, 1880–1903

**Statesman.** Born at Hatfield and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. As Lord Robert Cecil entered Parliament as member for Stamford in 1853. First held ministerial office as Secretary for India in 1866. He resigned that post in 1867 owing to disagreement with Lord Derby's Reform policy. On the death of his father, the second Marquis, in 1867, he succeeded to the title and took his place in the House of Lords. In 1874, on Mr. Disraeli's accession to power, he was again appointed Secretary for India. He continued in that office until 1878 when, on Lord Derby's resignation, he became Foreign Secretary. He was special Ambassador to Constantinople in 1876, and with Lord Beaconsfield attended the Berlin Congress in 1878. In 1885, on the downfall of the second Gladstone Ministry, he was called upon to form an administration. His tenure of power was but brief, extending over only two hundred and twenty-seven days. But the defeat of Mr. Gladstone on his Home Rule scheme in the ensuing year brought him back to office with a great combined strength of Unionist supporters behind him. For six memorable years he occupied the Premiership, and then, being defeated, led a vigorous opposition to the Government first of Mr. Gladstone, and on the retirement of that statesman in 1894 to Lord Rosebery's Ministry. On July 2nd, 1895, after a general election, Lord Salisbury came again into power, this time with an overwhelming majority. His health failing he retired from office in 1902, on the conclusion of the South African War, and passed the remainder of his days in seclusion. He died, and was buried at Hatfield.

#### "A POLICY OF LEGERDEMAIN."

I HAVE heard it said that this Bill\* is a Conservative triumph. If it be a Conservative triumph to have adopted the principles of your most determined adversary, the hon. member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) ; if it be a Conservative triumph to have introduced a Bill guarded with precautions and securities, and to have abandoned every one of those precautions and securities at the bidding of your opponents, then in the whole course of your annals I will venture to say the Conservative party has won no triumph so original. After all, our theory of Government is not that a certain number of statesmen should place themselves in office and do whatever the House of Commons bids them. Our theory of Government is that on each side of the House there should be men supporting definite opinions, and that what they have supported in opposition they should adhere to in office and that every one should know from the fact of their being in office, that those particular opinions will be supported. If you reverse that, and declare that, no matter what a man has supported in opposition, the moment he gets into office it shall be open to him to reverse and repudiate it all, you practically destroy the whole basis on which our form of Government rests, and you make

\* The Reform Bill of 1867.

the House of Commons a mere scrambling place for office. You practically banish all honourable men from the political arena, and you will find in the long run that your statesmen will be nothing but political adventurers, and that professions of opinion will be looked upon only as so many political manoeuvres for the purpose of obtaining office. . . . I entreat honourable gentlemen to believe that my feelings on this subject are not dictated simply by my hostility to this measure, though I object to it most strongly, as the House is aware.

But even if I took a contrary view, if I deemed it to be most advantageous, I should still most deeply regret that the position of the Executive should have been so degraded as it has been in the present session. I should deeply regret to find that the House of Commons has applauded a policy of legerdemain. And I should above all things regret that this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased by a political betrayal which has no parallel in our Parliamentary annals, and which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained.—*Speech in the House of Commons on the Third Reading of the Reform Bill of Lord Derby's Government.*

#### AN ESTABLISHED CHURCH

The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) spoke of a sentiment in favour of an Established Church with respect, although he avowed he had himself escaped from its spell, and felt bound to oppose it now. I must frankly avow that I am not of his opinion, and that that sentiment still exercises a hold over me which I regard as sacred. It appears to me that there is no problem in the development of our own society more important and more difficult, and yet which touches more deeply the sacred springs of human feeling and the most important interests of human society, than the connection of Church and State. Under these circumstances I cannot look upon the sentiment in favour of the Established Church as a thing to be praised, but to be disregarded. This sentiment appears to me to be bound up with our national life, to enter deeply into our Constitution; and even if no higher motives restrained us, we could not, in my opinion, abandon it without imperilling all the greatness and all the material advantages of which we are so proud. And, therefore, though the principle involved in that statement be applied to a part of the United Kingdom where it is severely tested, and where we have to rely more upon the abstract principle and less upon expediency than I could have wished, still my feeling is that, even as applied to the case of Ireland, it is a principle which I will not desert; it is a principle which has done so much good in past times; it is a principle from which we may hope so much hereafter; it is a principle which I have always supported; so that, even if I were inclined to doubt of its soundness, it would not be in the moment of its trial and adversity that I should shrink from upholding it.

I do not wish to go to a lower motive; I would rather choose to rely upon the importance of maintaining the connection between Church and State, and having some organisation by public authority of higher principles than the mere material instincts which ordinarily guide politicians. I would look to something more than to ordinary dictates of political economy, or to the necessities of our political organisation. But if I did seek for lower motives I think I could easily find them. I confess I doubt whether the object for which this great change is to be effected would be attained, even were the sacrifice made. We seek for peace—peace above all things is what we desire in Ireland. And you are going to do what to



secure peace? Why, you are going to draw upon yourselves the certain and bitter enmity of one-third of the population—the most able, the most wealthy, and the most influential portion of the population of Ireland—without your having any security whatever that you will conciliate the remainder of the population.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on March 30th, 1868, on Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Resolutions.*

#### IMPERIAL POLICY

Probably no Ministry has ever passed through a difficult crisis of foreign affairs amidst such a storm of abuse as we have encountered. Every calumny, every misconstruction that malignant ingenuity could invent, was paraded forth in order to lessen our influence and hinder our efforts; and at the precise moment, when it was of vital importance that Europe should understand England was in earnest, every nerve was strained to make England seem infirm of purpose and impotent in action. We in our diplomacy had to struggle against a loud-mouthed diplomacy, struggling in another direction out of doors.

There is another reason which, apart from any details of these negotiations—apart from the details of the settlement which we have arrived at—has, I think, predisposed the English people in our favour. They have felt that, however imperfectly, we were striving to pick up the thread, the broken thread, of England's old Imperial traditions. For a short time there have been men eminent in public affairs who have tried to persuade you that all the past history of England was a mistake—that the duty of England, the interest of England, was to confine herself solely to her own insular forces, to cultivate commerce, to accumulate riches, and not, as it was said, to entangle herself with foreign politics. They were men who disdained Empire, who objected to Colonies, and even grumbled at the possession of India. Even for their own low purposes the policy of these men was a mistake. The commerce of a great country like this will only flourish—history attests it again and again—under the shadow of Empire, and those who give up Empire in order to make commerce prosper will end by losing both.

I do not know, gentlemen, if you observed it, but it struck me with a thrill of congratulation when I saw that, in taking possession of Cyprus, not one voice, not one hand, was lifted up to resist and hamper, and the proclamation of Queen Victoria's name was everywhere received with enthusiasm; while other nations, perhaps militarily more powerful than ourselves, have to struggle with the deep reluctance of the people whom they propose to free. What is the reason of the difference? It is that we, at all events, in the cause of civilisation, have won our spurs before the world. We have known in governing India that, where English rule and English interest exist, peace, order, and prosperity are the result, and therefore it is that the prospect of English rule is welcomed by men of every race and every creed. Have we a right to turn away, to hide under a bushel, to conceal in a coffer, such power and influence as this, merely because we might, at some distant time, and in some conceivable circumstances, add to our responsibilities?—*Speech at a Banquet at the Duke of Wellington's Riding School, Knightsbridge, in 1876.*

#### IRISH AGITATION

If it be really true that there is this great public emergency—a fact which has not been established to us by any reasonable evidence—and if you have no other way of meeting it except by suspending the ordinary right of the landlord to re-

cover his just debts, then you are bound to lay upon the whole community the sacrifice that is necessary for the whole, and to compensate the landlord for the loss you inflict upon him. But let us be careful how in this hasty way we admit the existence of the great emergencies to justify the suspension of our ordinary usages. When such exaggerated claims to confidence on the part of the existing Executive are put forward, it is impossible to forget that there are reasons besides public emergencies which occasionally actuate Ministers of the Crown. Without referring to the constitution of Parliament and the mode in which ministerial majorities are obtained, it is very natural that a Minister of the Crown, particularly if he is not very strongly impressed with reverence for the rights of property, should desire to make his own path smooth and his own term of office peaceful, by feeding the wild beast he is not inclined to tame. You might as well expect to satisfy a wild beast, when he is pursuing you, by casting him a portion of your hand to induce him to forego any further enterprise upon your body, as to hope to calm this socialistic, anti-rent, not to say really rebellious agitation, by passing this Bill. I decline, in deciding how I shall give my vote, to ask with the noble Earl (Derby) what will be thought of the action of the House of Lords out of doors. We have a higher responsibility. I do not believe that the reputation, the character, or the influence of any man or body of men is to be preserved by perpetually thinking of what may be thought of their conduct out of doors. The motto of the House of Lords is "Be just and fear not"; but be sure that if you fear you will not long be just. The landlords of Ireland may be a small class comparatively; but, after all, they are a class many of whom assumed their present responsibilities and incurred the dangers which they were running at the hands of a Liberal Government, because they trusted to the word of Parliament, and invested their money in Irish land on what they thought Parliamentary security. To these men you are bound in honour. If you do not defend the landlords, depend upon it nobody else will. Do that—do what is just and right to all classes—and you may safely leave your authority, your influence, and your mediatorial power to the good sense and consideration of your countrymen.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords in August, 1880, on the Second Reading of the Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill.*

#### LAND HUNGER

This year will be long remembered in constitutional history as the year in which the argument of "land hunger" was invented. It has been discovered that when a people hunger for land, that they are to have, I will not say all they ask for, but a considerable proportion of it, without compensation for the rights of those who happen to be in possession of the land already. We have heard that, when land hunger was in question, political economy was a science only fit for the inhabitants of Jupiter and Saturn. Land hunger, again, we are told, where it exists, produces this curious result, that whatever increase of value the land obtains in consequence of the excess of the demand over the supply, belong not, as ordinary people might think, to the owner, but to the yearly tenant who happens to be occupying it at the time. That is a very interesting opinion for the inhabitants of the City of London. I think there is no doubt that there is scarcely a place in the world where land hunger prevails to such a frightful extent as in the City of London. I am told the land hunger is so great as to be measured by the price of £50,000 per acre. (A Voice: "A million in some places.") Well, that makes my argument all the more forcible, and therefore I think the citizens of London should have their attention invited to this new doctrine of land hunger; for, depend upon it, it will play a

very great part in the future. I cannot, indeed, help thinking that if this honour is paid to it, other kinds of hunger will come into fashion, and I do not see why we should not have "house hunger," "Consols hunger," and even "silver plate hunger." I am afflicted even now with a very considerable amount of place hunger, and I do not know how far the same maxims are to be applied to these kinds of hunger.—*From a Speech at a Dinner of the Merchant Taylors' Company on May 19th, 1881.*

#### BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITIES

It is a very convenient thing to say that anybody who stands up for the honour of England, or desires to maintain her position amongst nations, wishes to maintain a state of quarrel and to banish the blessings of peace from the world, or is indifferent to the horrors of war. But I maintain that the whole course of history and your own recent experience shows the contrary, and that those are the truest apostles of peace, and have the most genuine sense of the horrors of war, who allow other countries thoroughly to understand that, while we deeply and earnestly value peace and goodwill amongst nations, we do not think that that end is to be attained by allowing our interests to be disregarded or our honour to be contemned. Mr. Bright recently told you that the great honour of the present Government was that there was a great calm. Well, any ship that chooses to run out of its appointed course, and out of the passage which it is its duty to perform, into the nearest harbour, can find the blessings of a great calm. The question is whether that calm has been honourably earned. I do not say but that it is the greatest privilege to a Ministry if it can point to a great calm which has been attained without sacrificing anything of the position of this country, or of the honour that it holds amongst the nations. But to point to a great calm as a proof of the merits of your foreign policy is to elevate to the level of statesmanship the dogmas of a very respectable but a very small and mistaken clique of religionists. England has great duties to perform. She has founded splendid colonies. She has achieved a magnificent Empire beyond the seas. She has charged herself with the responsibility of the good government of 250,000,000 of people, who but for her would be plunged into anarchy and intestine war; and she must maintain, she must act up to, the responsibility she has acquired. She must not shrink from the occasional exertions and the occasional risks which those duties she has assumed may involve. She must not be seduced by the prospect of a great calm—must not allow herself to think that the whole of her duties lie within the narrow compass of these four seas; but be assured that the policy of upholding her honour, of maintaining the great creations which are due to the energy of her sons, of sustaining the policy which her fathers have handed down—that that policy is not only the most consistent with our honour and our traditions, but it is also the surest path to peace.—*From a Speech at the Meeting of the Liverpool Working Men's Association, in April, 1882.*

#### IRELAND UNDER THE UNION

Has Ireland failed under the Union? I need not ask it in this town and in this province, when we know what splendid progress has been made by them since the Union was passed. I would call your attention to the speciality of the case, which is not ordinarily sufficiently regarded. If you ask after the health of a man, and judge thereby of the robustness of his constitution, you must ask also to what dangers and difficulties was he exposed; had he special perils to surmount; had he

particularly special maladies to pull through ? Now it so happens during this century, when the Union, so to speak, has been on its trial, Ireland has had to pass through two of the most tremendous economical trials by which any nation was ever beset. The first was that the article of food on which the larger portion of the population subsisted suddenly disappeared, as if it had been swept out of the vegetable kingdom. I do not suppose that a calamity of that magnitude ever happened to any nation before ; but calamities of the kind have happened where, by the operations of some tempest or convulsions of nature, or some invasions, the materials for growth and the irrigation necessary to the harvest have been destroyed. Such things have happened in Eastern lands, and what has been the result ? Why, that the population has thoroughly disappeared and the land has become a desert. That Ireland could pass through that tremendous trial—the withdrawal of sustenance to more than half the population—is a proof not only of the power and the recuperative force of the population, but of the soundness of the institutions under which they were living. Then there was another tremendous economical trial, and that was the adoption of Free Trade. Free Trade has done to the United Kingdom an enormous benefit. It has produced tremendous blessings, especially in large manufacturing centres and in all places of trade and commerce ; and I have no doubt that the people of the United Kingdom are thoroughly convinced of the value of Free Trade, and mean to abide by it. But yet, however keenly we may feel that fact, it must not blind us to another fact—that Free Trade was in many districts of the United Kingdom, and in no place more than in Ireland, a sentence of death to agriculture. It has inflicted upon particular parts of the country, unhappily exposed to it, tremendous trials ; and for this country, where agriculture was so predominant, and where populations were so small, the trial was much harder than anywhere else. We have to struggle against difficulty in the agricultural districts of England, and many of them are very sore beset by the trouble through which they are passing. The same troubles have visited Ireland, and with such a trial as that—the entire reversal of the economical system in which their principal industry had grown up, and on which it depended—that Ireland could have lived, and not only lived but grown and prospered, gives the lie to those who tell us that ruin and retrogression followed the Union ; and shows, on the contrary, that our experience is similar to that of all other nations ; that the gradual consolidation of our Empire adds to the strength, prosperity, and progress of all parts. I have ventured, being in the presence of men of light and leading from all parts of Ireland, and especially from the most loyal parts of it, to point out that we are not fighting a policy of despair ; and this agitation, nourished as it is largely by foreign gold, has come as a cloud across our path and towers dark and dangerous upon us now ; but that when it has passed away, as we have full confidence and certainty that it will pass away, there lies before Ireland, under the institutions which were framed nearly a century ago, a full and fair promise of growing prosperity, progress, and civilisation.—*From a Speech delivered at Belfast, on May 25th, 1893.*

THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, 1886<sup>a</sup>

**Statesman.** The eldest son of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, of Moor Green Hall, near Birmingham, and the descendant of a Nonconformist family identified with the trade interests of the City of London. Mr. Chamberlain was born at Camberwell, and educated at University College School, Gower Street. Proceeding to Birmingham as a young man to assist in a commercial enterprise with which his father was identified, he after some years retired from business and threw himself into the public life of the midland town. He was on three successive occasions elected Mayor of Birmingham, was Chairman of the Birmingham School Board, and Chairman of the National Education League. Entering Parliament in June, 1876, as member for Birmingham, he speedily made his mark. In April, 1880, he was appointed President of the Board of Trade, and in Jan., 1886, became President of the Local Government Board. Differing with Mr. Gladstone on the subject of Home Rule, he resigned his official position, and henceforward became identified with the Liberal Unionist Party, whose interests and views he championed strenuously and uncompromisingly. In August, 1887, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to settle the Northern American Fisheries Dispute. On the formation of Lord Salisbury's last Ministry in 1895, Mr. Chamberlain was appointed Colonial Secretary, a position which he has ever since filled. The leading incidents of his administration, and particularly those in connection with the negotiations which preceded the South African War, and the memorable tour which he undertook on its conclusion, are too recent to need to be more than mentioned here.

## THE RETROCESSION OF THE TRANSVAAL

I WANT to speak to you on the question of Ireland, but I will reserve what I have to say for a few minutes while I ask your attention, in the first place, to the settlement which we have recently made of the unfortunate war in the Transvaal. This settlement has been the object of violent attack in the House of Peers. You have been told that it constitutes a dismemberment of the Empire; that it is a national surrender, you have been told for the hundredth time that it has destroyed the prestige of England, and it has caused Earl Cairns to blush, who never blushed before. Well, Sir, these are terrible calamities, especially the last; but before we consider how far these accusations can be sustained, let me ask you to think seriously what is the alternative which it is said we ought to have adopted.

We are accused of dismembering the Empire, and to avoid this, we ought in the opinion of our opponents to have maintained the annexation of the Transvaal. That annexation was made by the Conservative Government upon two distinct assurances. They declared, in the first place, upon information which was supplied to them, that the majority of the white inhabitants in the Transvaal desired that transfer, and they declared that unless it were effected we should infallibly be involved in a native war, which would endanger our South African possessions. Well, you all know that after that transfer was effected we found ourselves, in spite of it, immediately involved in two native wars—one with Cetewayo and the Zulu people, and the other with Secocoeni; and you know, and they know now if they did not know before, that the great majority of the Boer inhabitants of the Transvaal are bitterly hostile to the English rule, and yet we are told that we ought to have persevered in wrong-doing, after it was proved that the two grounds upon which the annexation was defended were fallacious, and rested on no solid foundation—that we should still force our rule on an unwilling people, whose independence we had solemnly engaged by treaty to respect. And this we were to do in order to spare Lord Cairns the unwonted blush with which he graced his peroration and alarmed his brother peers.

I will not at this moment stop to question the morality of such a step as that, but I want you to think for a moment of the expediency of it, of the wisdom of those statesmen who recommend such a course to her Majesty's Government.

It has been proved to us that the Boers are at all events brave soldiers, that they are skilled in the use of arms, that they are physically, at least, a match even for English soldiers. The Transvaal is a country as large as France—a wild and difficult country—and it is perfectly evident to every one that if we are to hold it down by force we must permanently maintain a number of troops at least equal to the number of our possible opponents. Well, we know also that the Orange Free State, which is a neighbouring territory, would make common cause with their co-religionists and men of the same nationality in the Transvaal; and therefore I say that it is perfectly certain that not less than from 15,000 to 20,000 English troops must be permanently stationed there, if we are to hold that country by force and against the will of the inhabitants. And to what end are we to do this? To prevent the dismemberment of the Empire. Why, the annexation was only reluctantly accepted by Lord Carnarvon three years ago. The territory has only been in our hands for a short three years, and it came into our possession upon information which we now know to be incorrect. And if we let them go, this population of 40,000—a population less than that contained in any one of the sixteen wards of this town in which I am speaking—why, this dismembered Empire of ours will still contain 250,000,000 of subjects to the Queen, to rule whom well and wisely is a duty and a responsibility which I think is sufficient even for the wildest ambition.

Well, but we are told that there is another course which has recommended itself to some of our critics, and that is, that we should have used the overwhelming forces which we placed at the disposal of Sir Evelyn Wood in order to attack the Boers, and that then, after we had defeated them in a bloody encounter—military honour being satisfied—we might have retired from the Transvaal, which we should have rendered desolate by the slaughter of many of its brave defenders. Before such a recommendation as that should commend itself to your minds, and to mine, let us consider for a moment what sort of people these are whom we are asked to treat in this revengeful way.

The Boers are not naturally a warlike race. They are a homely, industrious, but somewhat rude and uncivilised nation of farmers, living on the produce of the soil. They are animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors—the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II. of Spain—they inherit from them their unconquerable love of freedom and of liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race? Are they not virtues which we are proud to believe form the best characteristics of the English people? Is it against such a nation that we are to be called upon to exercise the dread arbitrament of arms?

These men settled in the Transvaal in order to escape foreign rule. They had had many quarrels with the British. They left their homes in Natal as the English Puritans left England and went to the United States, and they founded a little Republic of their own in the heart of Africa. In 1852 we made a treaty with them; they agreed to give up slavery, which had hitherto prevailed in their midst, and we agreed to respect and to guarantee their independence; and I say under these circumstances, is it possible we could maintain a forcible annexation of the country without incurring the accusation of having been guilty, I will not say of national folly, but I say of national crime?

That was the way in which the matter was understood by the late Government, who were not particularly scrupulous about these matters, but they distinctly instructed Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who was their representative in South Africa, not to take over the Transvaal unless he was satisfied that the majority of the people wished for the change. He did satisfy himself, as we know now, upon insufficient

and inaccurate information. The annexation was submitted to Parliament, and I am glad to think that on that occasion I was one of the small minority who voted against the proceeding. At the same time, I will frankly admit, there were very strong arguments indeed to justify the majority in the course which they took—arguments based upon the assurances which were given to us by the Government. That was in 1877.

Shortly afterwards the Zulu war broke out, and the Boers remained quiet. I daresay they were not unnaturally very well satisfied to see the English doing their work for them, fighting and destroying their former enemies. At all events, they contented themselves with protests, and memorials, and deputations to this country. The late Government rejected their petitions, and refused to reconsider the question of annexation; and so matters stood when we came into office. About that time we were all agreed—there was no difference of opinion—that the original annexation was a mistake, that it ought never to have been made, and then there arose the question, could it then be undone? It is very easy to do evil: it is not so easy to escape the consequences of it, or to put things back again in the same position in which they would have been if they had never been disturbed. We were in possession of information, to the effect that the great majority of the people of the Transvaal were reconciled to annexation. We were told that if we reversed the decision of the late Government there was a great probability of civil war and anarchy, and, acting upon these representations, we decided that we could not recommend the Queen to relinquish her sovereignty, but we assured the Boers that we would take the earliest opportunity of granting to them the freest and the most complete local institutions which might be found compatible with the welfare of South Africa.

You know it is not difficult to be wise after the event. It is not difficult to see now that we did wrong in so deciding. I frankly admit that we made a mistake. I say that whatever the risk was—and I believe it was a great one—of civil war or anarchy in the Transvaal, if we had reversed the decision, it was not so great a danger as that which we actually incurred by maintaining the wrong-doing of our predecessors. . . .

We are a great and powerful nation. What is the use of being great and powerful if we are afraid to admit an error when we are conscious of it? Shame is not in the confession of a mistake. Shame lies only in persistency in wilful wrong-doing. And if Earl Cairns likes to sit in sackcloth and ashes—if he likes, in well-feigned abasement, to expiate the folly of the Administration of which he was a member in the hasty annexation which has led to all these trials—in Heaven's name let him have that gratification. But when he dares to say that the English nation is shamed by the course we have taken I deny him the right to be judge in such a cause, and I appeal to the impartial public opinion of Europe and of America, which has approved of the action of the Government in preferring justice to revenge, and the best interests of South Africa to the vain pursuit of military glory.  
—*From a Speech delivered at Birmingham, June 7th, 1881.*

#### THE CONDITION OF IRELAND

Sir, I now approach the last subject upon which I shall venture to address you. In referring to the state of Ireland, I do so under the gravest sense of the responsibility attaching to any one who touches upon such a theme. At this moment an excitable people, suffering under the sense of long-continued injustice and wrong, only lately coming out of great tribulation, having endured hardship un-

exampled and extraordinary privation, having barely escaped starvation in consequence of the extraordinary efforts of public charity—these people, with such a character and under such conditions, are being encouraged by leaders in whom they have placed their confidence, to defy what they believe to be an unjust law, and to seek by disorder, and even by violence, to redress their grievances. Under these circumstances, when class is set against class, when any moment may bring about a collision which will fill all our minds with horror, no true friend of Ireland would dare to say anything which could add fuel to the flame. “The condition of Ireland is desperate and critical.” These are not my words; these are the words of Mr. Smith, the late First Lord of the Admiralty, in the debate on the second reading of the Land Bill. Mr. Smith went on to say that this condition of things was the fault of the Government, who had delayed too long, and had been reluctant in applying for extraordinary powers, and who, when they obtained them, had been weak and languid in enforcing them. Well, that is an hypothesis which might have some weight to which some importance might be attached, if it were not, unfortunately, the case that the state of Ireland, desperate and critical as it is, is not exceptional. The state of Ireland during the last half-century has been one of almost chronic disorder. Here you have a people who, by consent of friend and foe, are remarkable in ordinary times for their obedience to the ordinary law—a people whose history is signalised by a singular and admirable absence of ordinary crime, and yet you have them from time to time breaking out into paroxysms of agrarian violence and disorder. Under these circumstances it is perfectly evident, I think, to every right-thinking man, that the causes of this disorder are more deep-seated than Mr. Smith chooses to suppose, and that they are not to be found solely in the action of this or of any previous Government. They are to be found in the condition of the people themselves, and we must cut deep if we want to get at the bottom of the matter. In past times English statesmen, unfortunately, have only had one way of dealing with what they call Irish disaffection. They have applied coercion quickly enough, and they have applied it stringently enough to satisfy even the Tories; and it cannot be said of them, at all events, that the restrictive measures which they have adopted have been languidly enforced. We have had, I have read somewhere, fifty Coercion Acts—Acts of repression in Ireland since 1830. That is one for every year in the half-century which has elapsed since that date. Well, what has been the result? Ireland is still discontented. Ireland is still suffering from periodical fits of disorder. . . .

What is to be done now? Well, the Tories have no doubt whatever as to the course which we ought to pursue. By the mouths of their leaders, by their organs in the press, they urge upon the Government to put aside at once the Land Bill, to give up any attempt at remedial legislation, and to go to Parliament for more and more coercion, for the abolition of trial by jury, for the suppression of the Land League, and for other stringent and arbitrary measures. Well now, for my part, I hate coercion. I hate the name and I hate the thing. I am bound to say that I believe there is not one of my colleagues who does not hate it as I do. But then we hate disorder more. It seems to me that the issue is now with the Irish people and those who lead them. They can have no doubt any longer. It might have been possible before; they can have no doubt any longer as to the intentions of the Government. We have brought in a Land Bill. We have offered our message of peace to the Irish people. It is a bill, indeed, which Lord Salisbury professes that he cannot understand; but I don't find that his want of intelligence has prevented him from denouncing it in the strongest terms. It is a bill which Sir Stafford



Northcote appears to consider of no importance, for he urges the Government to give to the House of Commons some proposals of really serious legislation which would justify the absence of obstructive proceedings. But this Bill which Lord Salisbury cannot understand—this bill which Sir Stafford Northcote thinks to be of no importance, has been, I am glad to say, accepted generally as to its main principles, in the spirit in which it has been conceived, by all that is most reasonable and intelligent amongst the Irish people. I do not say that it may not be susceptible of amendment, but I say that, as it stands, and, speaking generally of its main provisions, that it has been welcomed by the majority of the Irish press. It has been frankly accepted as satisfactory by the whole of Ulster. It has been approved—I am always speaking of its main proposals—it has been approved by the Roman Catholic clergy, and let me say, in passing, that although there have been of course some exceptions, I think the action of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland during these disturbances has been on the whole worthy of their cloth and of their religion, and that the influence to which their sympathies with the people justly entitle them has been exercised on the whole on the side of law and order. . . .

A few weeks, or at most a month or two, must settle the fate of the Government and the fate of this measure. May we not call a truce, under these circumstances, in the bitter civil war, which, as I have said, is going on? I appeal to the landlords first, who have in many cases been very long-suffering and patient, to have yet a little more forbearance with their tenants, at all events during the time which must intervene before their relations with them are finally settled. I hope, also, that I may venture to appeal to the Irish people. I appeal to them as I appealed to them, I am sorry to say without success, before—I appeal to them not to play into the hands of their enemies. I appeal to them not to make the policy of conciliation difficult or even impossible for us by acts of violence and disorder which every honest man condemns. I believe that if we could tide over this intervening time, or if we could by some magic power secure the immediate passage of this bill, that we should have a settlement of this disastrous state of things. The Tories say that it would not be a final settlement. Well, perhaps not. There is no finality in politics, and every generation in turn must solve its own problems, and carry forward to a successful issue its own reforms. But at least we should have done our duty—at least we should have dealt with the question of the moment, and until some new grievance might arise to be dealt with, with equal justice, and I hope with greater promptitude—until such time, at least, we should have established the relations of the Irish people on a satisfactory footing.—*Ibid.*

#### IRELAND UNRECONCILED

After eighty years of stormy union, Ireland is still hostile and unreconciled. Coercion has failed to extort submission. Concession has been powerless to soften her animosity. I do not wonder sometimes that disappointment and even despair should fill the minds of men when they see the efforts, the unexampled and unremitting efforts, which were made in the last two sessions by the English Parliament to do justice to Ireland, met by words of menace and insult, and followed by worse than words, by deeds—by disorder, by crimes of violence, and by cowardly assassinations. Every nerve should be strained to detect and to punish the authors of those crimes. But we should blind ourselves to the teachings of our history and to the experience of every other country if we did not recognise in the existence of these crimes and in the unfortunate fact that a large proportion of the population sympathise with those who commit them, an indication of a social condition

altogether rotten, which it is the bounden duty of statesmen to investigate and to reform.

There are only two other courses open to you. You may, as some truculent writers have urged, abandon altogether the idea of the constitutional government of Ireland, and rule the country as a conquered dependency. How long do you suppose such a state of things would last? How long do you suppose that Englishmen with their free institutions would tolerate the existence of an Irish Poland so near to our own shores? It is too late to speak of such a scheme. The other alternative is separation—which I believe would jeopardise the security of this country, and which I am sure would be fatal to the prosperity and the happiness of Ireland. Well, I reject both alternatives. I contend that both are equally impossible and equally intolerable; but it is to these conclusions that you are inevitably driven if you accept the arguments of those public writers and speakers who have been urging you to abandon hereafter all further conciliation, and have been protesting against, as they say, truckling any more to Irish discontent. I say that as long as there is any just cause for discontent in Ireland, there is still scope for our remedies. Not until we have removed every just cause for discontent, until we have abolished every grievance, are we entitled to say that, if Irishmen are still dissatisfied, we have at least done our part; the resources of statesmanship are exhausted.

Gentlemen, the present crisis is a test of our faith in Liberal principles. Do not let us be too soon cast down. Centuries of wrong and of oppression have made Ireland what she is. We have no right to expect that a few months or even a few years of beneficent legislation will undo the mischief. We cannot take our hands from the plough. Let us go on steadfastly in the path which our great leader has marked out for us, unmoved by clamour and unshaken by panic. Let us keep on, in the even tenour of our way, dictated to us as it is by Liberal principles, and commended to our acceptance by every consideration of justice and of expediency.—*From a Speech at Swansea, Feb. 1st, 1883.*

#### LORD SALISBURY'S POLITICAL METHODS

Lord Rosebery says that he agrees that an Opposition should not propound an alternative policy. I will not discuss the matter with him here, but I say that those speeches did propound in every case an alternative policy to the policy which they condemned. They presented a clear issue to the people of this country, and to this day they remain a perfect text-book of Liberal principle and Liberal practice, which every good Tory keeps constantly with him, referring to it day and night, in the hope which has never yet been gratified—in the hope that some day or other he will be able to prove some flagrant inconsistency between the spoken words and the subsequent actions of the greatest of our orators and our statesmen. Compare with this Lord Salisbury's method. Lord Salisbury surveys the Liberal policy with jaundiced eyes, through glasses which are coloured by temper and by prejudice. He exaggerates failures; he creates defects where he does not find them. He ignores altogether everything which is favourable and satisfactory; and by deepening the shadows and obliterating the lights he produces a picture which is not a portrait, but which is a gross caricature. Then he holds up this daub of his own creation to contempt and scorn, and he thinks that when he has done so that he has done enough to induce his fellow-countrymen to place their confidence in him and blindly to accept whatever he may have concealed somewhere or other in his pockets, as a substitute for the policy he has attempted to disfigure and discredit.

Well, I think Lord Salisbury is mistaken. The people of this country will not take even a Salisbury on trust. It is very easy, no doubt, for him to charge the Liberal Government with the mistakes that he says we have made during the time we have been in office : and I do not quite see how men, however honest or able, charged with the administration of the vast affairs of such an Empire as ours, called upon at every moment to come to some important decision, perhaps upon inaccurate or insufficient information—I do not see how any men can fail occasionally to err. But I believe that the people of this country will regard mistakes which are mere errors of judgment, which are not mistakes of principle, with consideration and with generosity. And I do not think that they will be inclined to dismiss their present servants till at least they have some security that those who are so covetously clutching at our places have something better to offer, and are not likely to make mistakes still more serious. . . .

Now, we have been passing through a most tremendous crisis in Ireland. We have been face to face with a danger long foreseen, predicted by the Duke of Wellington and by other statesmen as the greatest of all the difficulties which the English Administration could possibly be called upon to confront in Ireland, and that is a widespread agrarian agitation culminating in a general strike against rent. What is Lord Salisbury's statesmanship under these circumstances ? What would he have had us do ? No remedial legislation. More bayonets, more police, the Irish leaders in gaol, full rents for Irish landlords, and eviction for Irish tenants. Well, but that is a policy which has been tried—tried for generations, and it has failed conspicuously.

Something like forty years ago there was a crisis, not so great, perhaps, as that through which we have been passing, but still of sufficient importance. It was called the Tithe War. There was a strike against the payment of tithes. Then Lord Salisbury's policy prevailed. There was repressive and stringent coercion, and it failed. No effect whatever was produced. Peace was not restored until the tithe itself was abolished. We have been more successful in our time. We have resisted all that was unreasonable in the demands of the Land League. Rent—fair rent—is being paid throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. Peace and order have been restored ; crime and outrage have almost ceased.

In the meantime the black conspiracies of murder and violence which had gathered round the outskirts of the agitation have been exposed and unmasked, and their authors are being brought to punishment. I say we have the right to claim credit for this success. We have the right to ask that fair-minded opponents shall acknowledge it. But I say that success is due to the fact that, while we have firmly administered the law, we have also recognised the substantial grievances of the Irish people—on which their discontent was founded ; and we have made extraordinary efforts to remove those grievances. Without the Land Act, which is the mark of Lord Salisbury's scorn, you would have had no peace, even the qualified peace we have at present in Ireland. Lord Salisbury's moral, which he wished you to draw, is that force is the only remedy. Force is no remedy for discontent—and force alone has never removed the causes of discontent of which the crime and outrage that we deplore are the extreme and unjustifiable expression. . . .

Lord Salisbury cares nothing for the bulk of the Irish nation. He calls for vengeance upon the criminals who have been guilty of outrage and violence, and so far I am with him. But then he stops there. He has no sympathy—at least he expresses none—for the great mass of the population, whether of loyal Ulster or the three other provinces of Ireland, who have been subjected to undeniable tyranny and oppression, and whose wrongs cry aloud for redress. He can express

to you in eloquent terms his sympathy for the Irish landlords, who have had to submit to a reduction of twenty-five per cent. in their rents, but I find nowhere any expression of sympathy for poor tenants, who, for years, under the threat of eviction, and the pressure of starvation, have paid those unjust rents levied on their own improvements, and extorted from their desperate toil and hopeless poverty. I say that in this matter as in so many others, Lord Salisbury constitutes himself the spokesman of a class—of the class to which he himself belongs—“who toil not, neither do they spin”—whose fortunes, as in his case, have originated in grants made long ago, for such services as courtiers render kings—and have since grown and increased while their owners slept, by the levy of an unearned share on all that other men have done by toil and labour to add to the general wealth and prosperity of the country of which they form a part.—*Ibid.*

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

We shall be confronted with a vigorous opposition, animated by the strongest motives, to resist reforms which arouse their prejudices and which threaten their privileges. Success will be impossible unless the great masses of the people are determined to conquer their rights. Union, boldness, steady persistence—these all are essentials in the contest. With these conditions victory cannot be doubtful and cannot be long delayed, and the result of victory will be worthy the labour and the toil. Government by the people means government for the people. Great social questions, which are every day becoming more important, can only be satisfactorily settled when the whole of the people take a part in the work of legislation. The complete establishment of religious equality, the freedom of education in our national schools, the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, the improvement of the condition of the agricultural labourers, the popular control of the liquor traffic, and such a readjustment of taxation as will proportion its burdens to the means and ability of the taxpayer—these are questions upon which I believe the great majority of the people are agreed, but whose solution is of necessity delayed till all the people are taken into counsel. They are questions the consideration of which is disagreeable to those to whom all change is objectionable. They would be glad to put them out of sight, but they cannot do it, for these questions are forcing themselves into prominence every day, and engaging the attention of thinking persons. I do not think that in such a programme as I have sketched there is anything which need give alarm to the most timid of men. Wealth and intelligence will always in this country enjoy their proper influence and due consideration. Property will be more secure when there are more owners of property. When its obligations are frankly acknowledged, then its rights will be more cheerfully conceded; and hence I look forward with hope and confidence to the changes which will be accomplished, to the great advantage of every class in the community, when the wishes and wants and necessities of the whole people are adequately represented in the great Council of the nation.—*From a Speech at Bristol, Nov. 20th, 1883.*

#### THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Are the Lords to dictate to us, the people of England? Are the Lords to dictate to us the laws which we shall make and the way in which we shall bring them in? Are you going to be governed by yourselves, or will you submit to an oligarchy which is a mere accident of birth? Your ancestors resisted kings and abated the horde of monarchs, and it is inconceivable that you should be so careless of your

great heritage as to submit your liberties to this miserable minority of individuals who rest their claims upon privilege and upon accident. I saw the other day that Sir Stafford Northcote, when speaking in the north, said that I never spoke about the House of Lords without showing that I was animated by spite against that assembly. I must say I think that a very unnecessary observation, and if I had not great respect for Sir Stafford Northcote I should say it was a very silly one. Why should I have any spite against the House of Lords? I have always thought that it was a very picturesque institution, attractive from its connection with the history of our country. I have no desire to see dull uniformity of social life; and I am rather thankful than otherwise to gentlemen who will take the trouble of wearing robes and coronets, and who will keep up certain state and splendour which is very pleasing to look upon. They are ancient monuments, and I, for one, should be very sorry to deface them; but, gentlemen, I do not admit that we can build upon these interesting ruins the foundations of our government. I cannot allow that these antiquities should control the destinies of a free Empire, and when they press their claims without discretion and without moderation, when they press them to an extreme which their predecessors never contemplated, I say they provoke inquiry and controversy which cannot but end in their humiliation. I have read somewhere the saying of a certain Rumbold, who was a Puritan soldier in the time of the Stuarts, to the effect that he would believe in hereditary legislators when he found that men were born into the world, some of them with saddles on their backs, and others with bits and spurs ready to ride them. That is a condition which has not yet been fulfilled, and I do not think that the men who desire to preserve the authority of the peers are wise if they push that authority so far as to set people thinking what grounds we have for giving them any authority at all, and how they have used the authority they at present possess. . . .

The chronicles of the House of Lords are one long record of concessions delayed until they have lost their grace, of rights denied until extorted from their fears. It has been a history of one long contest between the representatives of privilege and the representatives of popular rights, and during this time the Lords have perverted, delayed, and denied justice until at last they gave grudgingly and churlishly what they could no longer withhold. In the meantime, what mischief has been wrought, what evils have been developed that might have been stayed in their inceptions, what wrongs have been inflicted and endured that ought long ago to have been remedied! We are told that the object of the Second Chamber is to stay the gusts of popular agitation and to give the nation time for reflection. I defy any student of history to point to one single case in which the House of Lords has ever stayed the gust of public passion, or checked a foolish popular impulse. They have given us time for reflection often enough, and the only result of that reflection has been to excite feelings of regret and indignation at the waste of time, and at the obstacles which have been unnecessarily interposed between the nation and some great and useful public reform. . . .

How has the House of Peers treated the Nonconformists of Wales, and of the rest of the kingdom? In old times it persecuted you, then insulted you. The days of heavy oppression are removed, but the slights and insults still remain, and you are far from the equality which is your due. The time, I hope, is in our view when the last shred of inequality and inferiority shall be removed, and the last badge of sufferance torn from your shoulders. But the treatment by the House of Lords of the Dissenters has exceeded in injustice almost anything which can be brought against it in reference to any part of its proceedings. The House of Lords maintained until 1828 the Test and Corporation Act, by which Dissenters

were precluded from serving their country in any local office of profit or honour ; and in 1834 they refused to repeal a Bill which made the licence of the bishop of the diocese necessary before twenty men could meet together for common worship. In 1836 they insulted the Dissenters by requiring that their banns of marriage should be read before Boards of Guardians. In 1839 they refused the education grant because Dissenters were to share in it. Five times in their history they rejected Bills for abolishing the iniquitous church rate. Three times they refused Bills which would have given the Dissenters the consolation of the presence of their own ministers at the graves of those whom they had loved and lost. Gentlemen, at this moment you are interested, and it is greatly to your credit, in the higher education of the Principality ; you are anticipating much from the colleges which are being so vigorously promoted : but you will owe very little to the House of Peers for the higher education and the culture of Dissenters. As long as they could they did everything in their power to prevent it, and four times from 1834 to 1870 they rejected Bills for the abolition of the tests which deprived Nonconformists of the prizes at the national Universities, except at the sacrifice of their conscientious scruples.

No, gentlemen, I have no spite against the House of Lords ; but as a Dissenter I have an account to settle with them, and I promise you I will not forget the reckoning. I boast a descent of which I am as proud as any baron may be of the title which he owes to the smiles of a king or to the favour of a king's mistress, for I can claim descent from one of the two thousand ejected ministers, who, in the time of the Stuarts, left home and work and profit rather than accept the State-made creed which it was sought to force upon them, and for that reason, if for no other, I share your hopes and your aspirations, and I resent the insults, the injuries, and the injustice from which you have suffered so long at the hands of a privileged assembly. But the cup is nearly full. The career of high-handed wrong is coming to an end. The House of Lords have alienated Ireland, they have oppressed the Dissenters, and they now oppose the enfranchisement of the people. We have been too long a peer-ridden nation, and I hope you will say to them that if they will not bow to the mandate of the people, that they shall lose for ever the authority they have so long abused.—*From a Speech at Denbigh, Oct. 20th, 1884.*

#### DEFENCE OF HIS UNIONIST OPINIONS

I have been assailed with extraordinary bitterness because I have exercised an independent judgment in a matter which I believe to be vital to the interests of the country. I am told that I am animated by personal spite and private spleen. Yes : I do not complain of hon. members from Ireland taking that view and expressing it—it is their habit of controversy. No one has ever been opposed to them in politics but he has been covered with virulent abuse and misrepresentation, and none more conspicuously than Lord Spencer and the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone), whom they are now loading with fulsome adulation. But I address myself to my hon. friends round me, from whom I have the misfortune to differ. I ask them to consider whether it is really necessary to impute the basest motives to public men at a time when there are, on the surface, reasons perfectly honourable which may sufficiently account for their conduct. Do you say, do you dare to say, that my right hon. friend and colleague in the representation of Birmingham (Mr. Bright) is animated by personal spleen and spite ? He takes the same course as I do ; he is going into the lobby against this Bill and against the friend, the associate, and the leader whom he has followed with loyal devotion

for many years of his life. My right hon. friend has done as great services, he has lived almost as long in public life as the Prime Minister himself, and no one has doubted his honour. But you say I am in a different position. And why do you say that? What I am saying now I expressed in public—it is in print—before the General Election, before I was a member of the Government, before I had the slightest conception that any idea of this kind was fermenting then—if it were fermenting—in the mind of the Prime Minister. I spoke at Warrington in Sept., 1885, and referring to the demands of the hon. members for Cork, I said then that if there were any party or any man who was willing to yield to those demands in order to purchase his support, I would have no part in the competition. And then many of my friends whom I see around me thanked me in public for what they thought the frank, plain, and courageous declaration. And now, forsooth, for having made the same declaration some three months later, when the occasion has arisen, they accuse me of personal and unworthy motives. Sir, the charge is unjust; the charge is ridiculous. For there is not a man here who does not know that every personal and political interest would lead me to cast in my lot with the Prime Minister. Why, Sir, not a day passes in which I do not receive dozens and scores of letters urging me, for my own sake, to vote for the bill and dish the Whigs! Well, Sir, the temptation is no doubt a great one, but, after all, I am not base enough to serve my personal ambition by betraying my country; and I am convinced, when the heat of this discussion is passed Liberals will not judge hastily those who have pursued what they honestly believe to be the path of duty, even though it may lead to the disruption of party ties, and to the loss of influence and power which it is the ambition of every man to seek among his political friends and associates.—*From a Speech in the House of Commons on June 1st, 1886.*

#### THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH RACE

It is to me an encouragement and a great delight to find that in the Colonies and in the mother country there is some confidence, at all events, in my desire to bring them closer together. I will venture to claim two qualifications for the great office which I hold, and which to my mind, without making invidious distinctions, is one of the most important that can be held by any Englishman. These qualifications are that, in the first place, I believe in the British Empire; and, in the second place, I believe in the British race. I believe that the British race is the greatest of governing races that the world has ever seen. I say that, not merely as an empty boast, but as proved and evidenced by the success which we have had in administering the vast dominions which are connected with these small Islands, and I believe, therefore, that there are no limits to its future. I think a man who holds my office is bound to be sanguine, bound to be confident, and I have both those qualifications. I wish sometimes that the English people were not so apt to indulge in self-criticism, which, although it does no harm at home, is sometimes misinterpreted abroad. We are all prepared to admire the great Englishmen of the past. We speak of the men who made our Empire, and we speak of them as heroes as great as any that have ever lived in the pages of history; but when we come to our own time we doubt—we seem to lose the confidence which, I think, becomes a great nation such as ours. And yet if we look even to such comparatively small matters as the expeditions in which Englishmen have recently been engaged, the Administrations which Englishmen have controlled, I see no reason to doubt that the British spirit still lives in Englishmen. When I think of the incidents of such a campaign as that of Chitral, the other day;

when I think of the way in which numerous provinces in India—and I might speak, from my own experience, of the administration in Egypt, of the way in which a number of young Englishmen, picked, as it were, haphazard from our population, having beforehand no special claims on our confidence and gratitude have, nevertheless, controlled great affairs, and with the responsibility placed upon their shoulders, have shown a power, a courage, a resolution, and an intelligence which have carried them through extraordinary difficulties, I say that he indeed is a craven and poor-spirited creature who despairs of the future of the British race.—*From a Speech at a Banquet given in 1895 in honour of the appointment of Lord Lamington as Governor of Western Australia.*

#### SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EMPIRE

I deplore the loss of the brave men who have fallen in the war. You do well to keep their memories green. You do well to cherish the example they set, and to offer the only one consolation to their relatives and friends, that they have not given their lives in vain, that the object for which they fought has been accomplished, and that the issue which troubled South Africa so long has been decided. The question which, like the sword of Damocles, hung over the prosperity of the country, has now entirely, and I believe for ever, been removed. You have paid a great price for this result. Let us all determine that we will resolutely maintain it, and that never again shall South Africa be disturbed by similar causes. As long as the idea—the impossible idea—prevailed that a section of the people of this country could wrest the sovereignty from Great Britain, so long was there unrest and agitation. Men had to take sides and race was pitted against race. I say that this was an impossible idea, and those who cherished it did not know the might of Great Britain, nor the resolution with which her people will always support their fellow-subjects in maintaining their great inheritance. But if it had been possible what would have been the result? What would have been the position of a Dutch Republic standing alone in this Continent, and an object of the ambition of all the Great Powers of the world? What would have been done without the protection of that mighty Power whose flag covers all seas, whose rule is synonymous with freedom and justice? Now that hope, that chimerical idea, has been dispelled for ever, now we may anticipate a real and lasting peace. I invite you in Grahamstown, a British colony, to use your influence—to use it well and wisely to secure the union which we all desire. While you are right in reprobating as the greatest of all political crimes sedition, or treason against the Government, I hope you will show that you are not animated by personal or racial animosities, and that you are willing to make allowances for the unhappy men who were misled by others who ought to have known better, and whose teachings led to results which they did not desire.

I invite our Dutch fellow-subjects throughout South Africa to learn the lessons of the war, to remember that it was the hope of their support which encouraged the leaders of the two Republics to offer defiance to Great Britain and to invade our territory, which led to the struggle that has left behind it untold misery and suffering. The Boers of two colonies have loyally accepted the result. With courage and resolution and even cheerfulness they are working with us to remove all traces of the ravages of the war. I confidently believe that in the future they will be as loyal to the new Government as they were to the old. Let the Dutch in this colony imitate their example. Let them accept the result of the war as final. Let them remember in future that we are one people, and let the land have



peace. Let the wicked cease from troubling and the weary be at rest. We are under one flag on this sub-continent, the flag of freedom and justice, with firm and sympathetic government. We are members of one Empire, an Empire which enforces no tyrannical or arbitrary rules, but which seeks the confidence and affection of all its subjects; an Empire whose work and mission in the world is one of which all its subjects may well be proud.—*From a Speech delivered at Grahamstown, Cape Colony, on Feb. 10th, 1903 in reply to Addresses of welcome.*

#### TRIBUTE TO MR. BALFOUR

I look back upon the long roll of illustrious men who have filled in this country the positions of Leaders of the House and Prime Ministers of the kingdom, and I know of none who have earned in greater degree, who have more deservedly earned, the confidence and the regard of the House of Commons than my friend Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour, as none know better than his colleagues, in the House of Commons, possesses qualities which the assembly has always appreciated. The unfailing courtesy which can never be exhausted is joined in him to those great qualities of firmness, courage, and sincerity which the House of Commons always applauds and always approves. I congratulate him in my heart on the great position he has earned, which is deserved by his character and by his talents; but I claim for the House of Commons the fact that he is essentially a product of the House, and that he is what he is largely by virtue of the education, and experience, and discipline he has gained in the twenty-nine years of Parliamentary life to which he has referred. The House of Commons, I believe, is the only assembly which could have afforded it. In honouring him you honoured the House of Commons, and although our differences are great, I do not believe there is one member in the assembly who will not say, at all events in his calmer moments, that Mr. Balfour represents the best traditions of the assembly, and who would not be willing to apply to him the well-known lines:

Statesman, yet friend to truth; of soul sincere,  
In action faithful, and in honour dear;  
Who broke no promise, served no private end,  
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend.

—*Speech at a Banquet given on Oct. 15th, 1902, at the Guildhall, London, by the Lord Mayor, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, M.P., in honour of Mr. Balfour's elevation to the Premiership.*

#### THE FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE

During the last eight years we have been engaged in prosecuting a work which I think is even more important, and which certainly is more difficult, than opposing Home Rule. We have been seeking to bind together, to build up an Empire in which the glorious tradition of our British history shall be merged and continued. I say that that is a more difficult task. The task of construction is always harder than the task of destruction.

A thousand years scarce serve to form a State,  
An hour may lay it in the dust.

But we have done something. We have brought this question into the arena of practical politics. We have faced the obstacles and measured the difficulties. We have seen on what lines progress may be made; and now I say it is in the hearts and minds of the people of this country—aye, and of all our kinsfolk in the

distant lands who owe allegiance to a common king and find security under a common flag. Have we not some reason to be proud that the Colonies, of whom we were told only a few years ago that they would not move a man nor spend a penny on any cause in which their own selfish interests were not directly concerned, have sprung to our assistance in our time of difficulty and stress, have poured out the blood of their sons like water, and have contributed—not, indeed, perhaps, entirely in proportion to their means, but have at any rate contributed largely from their comparatively scanty resources to a cause which is not their own in any special sense, but is the cause of the Empire at large? And what of the prophets of evil? Do they repent, do they retract, do they admit that they were wrong? No, they have begun to prophesy again. They tell us now, with a sneer, that if the Colonies have done anything it is very much less than what they ought to have done. I should like to know what encouragement they have ever given to the Colonies to do anything; and I warn the people of this country that if it is in that spirit that what they have done is to be accepted there will be little doubt indeed of the result. For the first time the Colonies have made a great advance. They have recognised that there is a common obligation. They have accepted as their duty to provide for our common expenses; and if then they are to be met with a sneer, I will predict that in the future when we are in difficult circumstances we may look in vain for their assistance. They will not do more, and perhaps they will not do as much. But I do not believe—I think I know my countrymen better than to believe—that they at any rate will receive the advances of the Colonies in any such spirit. No; we all desire closer union and the consolidation of the Empire, and therefore we welcome every advance, and we welcome it in no grudging or huckstering spirit; and we are confident—I think I have a right to speak—and I say I am confident that in the future, as the Colonies grow in strength and wealth and knowledge, their patriotism will grow also. They will be found not unwilling to share on equal, or at least on proportionate, terms the obligations as well as the privileges of Empire. Then does it not follow that we who are the older country, we who have gone through the parochial stage, and who have risen to the higher conception of national and Imperial duty—that we should lead the way—that we should do our part and draw them on by our example?—*From a Speech at a complimentary Luncheon at the Constitutional Club, London, on June 26th, 1903.*

### MICHAEL DAVITT

Irish politician. Early in life was employed in a cotton mill in Lancashire, where he lost one of his arms in an accident. He took part in the Irish insurrectionary movement, and being tried and convicted in 1870 for treason, was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. He was released on ticket of leave after serving seven years and a half of his sentence, but was re-arrested in 1881, during the Home Secretaryship of Sir William Harcourt. After remaining in prison for fifteen months he was again liberated, and took an active part in the discussion of Irish affairs. In Feb., 1883, he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment in connection with a speech he had made violently denouncing landlords. In the Parnell Commission he distinguished himself by his able defence.

### ENGLAND AND IRELAND

BUT, my Lords, there is another and a higher interest involved in the drama of this Commission now rapidly drawing to a close; an interest far surpassing in importance, and the possible consequences of your Lordship's judgment, anything else comprised in this investigation. It stands between the *Times* and landlordism on the one hand, the persons here charged and the Land League on the

other. In bygone ages, historians, with some prophetic instinct, called it "The Isle of Destiny," and, my Lords, destiny seems to have reserved it for a career of trial, of suffering, and of sorrow. That same destiny has linked this country close to England. Politically it has remained there for seven hundred years and more. During that period few peoples ever placed upon this earth have experienced more injustice or more criminal neglect at the hands of their rulers than we have. This even English history will not, and dare not, deny. This land so tried and treated has, nevertheless, struggled generation after generation, now with one means, now with another to widen the sphere of its contracted religious, social, and political liberties—liberties so contracted by the deliberate policy of its English governing power; and ever and always were these struggles made against the prejudice and might, and often the cruelties of this same power, backed by the support or the indifference of the British nation. But despite all this, the cause so fought and upheld has ever and always succeeded, sooner or later, in vindicating its underlying principles of truth and justice, and in winning from the power which failed to crush them a *post facto* justification of their righteous demands. A people, my Lords, so persevering in its fight for the most priceless and most cherished of human and civil rights, so opposed but so invariably vindicated, might surely in these days of progress and enlightenment excite in the breasts of Englishmen other feelings than those of jealousy, and hate, and revenge, and of fear. In many, thank God, it has appealed successfully at last, to what is good and what is best in English nature. It has spoken to the spirit of liberty, and has turned the love of justice in the popular mind towards Ireland, and has asked the British people, in the interests of peace, to put force and mistrust away with every other abandoned weapon of Ireland's past misrule, and to place in their stead the soothing and healing remedies of confidence and friendship, based upon reason and equality.

The verdict of this court, the story told in the report of this Commission, may or may not carry the appeal, which Ireland's struggles and misfortunes have addressed to the conscience and fairness of the English nation much further than it has already travelled in the British mind. But one thing at least the history of this Commission will have to tell to future generations. It will narrate how this progress of conciliation between ruled and rulers was sought to be arrested; how a people asking for justice were answered by ferocious animosity; how men who had suffered imprisonment, degradation, and calumny in their country's service were foully attacked by the weapons of moral assassination, and how every dastard means known in the records of political warfare were purchased and employed to cripple or destroy the elected representatives of the Irish nation. This story will picture this once powerful organ of English public opinion earning again the title of "literary assassin" which Richard Cobden gave it nearly thirty years ago. It will stand again in this light when its writers are seen plotting with Houston, planning with Pigott, and bargaining with Delaney, how best to re-awaken in the English mind the old hate and jealousy and fear of a people, who were to be depicted in its columns in the most odious and repulsive character that forgers' or libellers' mercenary talent could delineate in "Parnellism and Crime." This story will exhibit these men sitting in the editorial rooms of Printing House Square with professions of loyalty on their lips and poison in their pens; with honesty loudly proclaimed in articles which salaried falsehood had written; with simulated regard for truth-making, "shame ashamed" of their concocted fabrications; and these men, with the salaries of the rich in their pockets, and the smiles of London society as their reward, carrying on a deliberately planned system of infamous allegations against political opponents, who were but striving to redeem

the sad fortunes of their country, in efforts to bring to an end a strife of centuries' duration between neighbouring nations and peoples. Between the *Times* on the one hand and the accused on the other your Lordships are, however, first to judge. It is, if I may say so without presumption, as serious and momentous a duty as judges of England were ever before called upon to perform.

The traditions of your Lordships' exalted position, elevated as that position is above the play of political passion or the influence of fear or favour, will call, and will not, I am sure, call in vain, for the exercise of all those great qualities of trained ability, of calmness, of discernment, of judgment, and of courage which are the proud boast of the judicial bench of this land.

Whether or not the test of a cold, indiscriminating law will alone decide an issue in which political passion has played so great a part, and where party feeling has been a moving principle in acts and words; whether the heated language of platform oratory, or the sometimes crude attempts at political reform, are to be weighed in the balance of legal scales, scales never fashioned, at least in England, to measure the bounds of political action; or whether the test is to lie with a discriminating judicial amalgam of law in its highest attributes and of calm reason applied to the men and motives and means of the Land League, as the accused, and to the *Times*, its charges and allegations as the accuser, I am, as a layman, unable to forecast.

But, be the test what it may, if it be only based upon truth and guided by the simple monitor of common sense, I say on my own behalf, and on that of the Land League, and of the peasantry of Ireland, hopefully, confidently, fearlessly, "Let justice be done though the heavens fall."—*Conclusion of Address at the Parnell Commission.*

## THE RIGHT HON. JOHN MORLEY, M.P., 1838

Author and statesman. The son of a Blackburn surgeon, Mr. Morley was educated at Cheltenham College and Lincoln College, Oxford. He entered as a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in 1873. Prior to this he had become engaged in literary work, and had been appointed editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. In 1880 he was made editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and continued in that position until 1883, when he exchanged for the editorial chair of *Macmillan's Magazine*. In the same year he commenced an active political career by entering Parliament as member for Newcastle. In 1886 he was made Chief Secretary for Ireland with a seat in the Cabinet. That position he again filled from 1892 to 1895. Though a statesman exercising a remarkable influence in public life, Mr. Morley's greatest successes have been achieved in the domain of literature. As the official biographer of Mr. Gladstone he may be expected to win an even greater reputation in the future. Created Viscount 1908.

### HOME RULE

I WILL not detain you long in dealing with Lord Randolph Churchill's positions,\* but there are one or two of them so remarkable that I cannot allow them, considering the noble lord's importance in the public eye, to pass without a word of remark. The noble lord defined the Irish question, and I have no fault to find with that definition. He said that the Irish question arose from this fact, that we cannot obtain from Ireland, first of all, the same reverence for the law; secondly, the same material prosperity; and thirdly, the same contentment and tranquillity, that we obtain in England and Scotland. I think that is a perfectly fair statement of the question. But then, does it not occur even to those who are going to vote

\* A week previously Lord Randolph Churchill had, by invitation of the Oxford Union Society, delivered a speech in opposition to Home Rule.

against this Resolution to-night, that a statesman who admitted that we had obtained nothing better than a result so unsatisfactory, so discreditable, and so deplorable, would say, "Since the result has been such, we must change the system which has produced that result" ? I think that is a fair way of answering the question as the noble lord defines it. Did he so answer it ? On the contrary, what he said was, "Since the result has been so discreditable, so deplorable, and so unsatisfactory, therefore I urge you of the Oxford Union to vote in favour practically of maintaining every jot and tittle of that system exactly as it now stands." I do not know how the school of logic goes in Oxford since my day ; but I think if theoretic logic had been dealt with on the same principle as the noble lord deals with questions of practical logic, he would have come away from the schools with no *testamur*.

And now I come to a more important part of the noble lord's speech. What is the good of the policy which he pressed upon your attention ? What is the bright and cheerful prospect that he holds out to you as the result of following that policy ? It is so extraordinary and so remarkable from a man of the noble lord's shrewdness, that I really beg your very close scrutiny of the position which he then took up, and of the very astonishing arguments to which he resorted. The noble lord said that the Irish party is deeply divided into two sharply-opposed sections : one of them is the section which is content with Parliamentary, constitutional, and peaceful methods ; and the other is the party of violence and force. That is perfectly true. There have always been in Irish history these two opposed forces. It is a very old story ; and one part of the story that I have always heard is that in the old days when the quarrel between the two parties was raging the moral force party kicked the physical force party downstairs. The noble lord reversed this. He said, depend upon it, as Home Rule receded in the distance, those who do not believe in the efficacy of Parliamentary methods would assert their superiority over those who do believe in Parliamentary methods. I will ask the House to put that proposition into rather plainer English. What it means is, that when Home Rule is put upon the shelf, the Fenian movement—which the noble Lord truly remarked could scarcely be said to exist at the present moment—would rise in undisputed triumph, and the constitutional, peaceful, and Parliamentary movement would receive its *quietus*. And that is the noble lord's argument in this House for opposing the Resolution now before it ! I cannot imagine that the golden prospect which the noble lord places before you is one that is really calculated to bring comfort or relief to British statesmen. I agree with him absolutely in his prediction. I have often said that if you do shelve Home Rule, if you once show the majority of the population of Ireland that they have nothing to hope for from the equity and common sense of Great Britain, then I firmly believe that you will have a revival of the old party of violence, of conspiracy, of sedition, and of treason. But the prospect that he regards with satisfaction and complacency—the prospect of the revival of the violent party and the depression of the peaceful party—that prospect fills me, and I hope fills all well-considering men here, whether they be Unionists or Home Rulers, with repugnance and horror. We shall regard the revival of such a state of things as most dishonouring to England, and as merciless to Ireland.

But I would ask gentlemen to press the noble lord's argument home, to test it, and to probe it to the bottom from his own speech. You are to force Home Rule back, in order to restore those halcyon days of which the noble lord himself gave you an account when, as he said, and I daresay correctly said, half the population of Ireland were either sworn Fenians or else in close sympathy with Fenianism.

That is extreme language. But what is still more extraordinary is the purpose and object with which you are to effect this most curious manœuvre. What was the purpose and the object of shelving Home Rule with the prospect of a revival of Fenianism? Pursue the noble lord's train of thought. You are to raise Fenianism from the dead, you are to stamp out the constitutional men, and to give new life to the men of violence and conspiracy; you are to fan into a glow all the sullen elements of insurgency in Ireland, in order, forsooth, that the Empire should be the better able to face all the troubles that are coming upon Europe. As the noble lord thinks, and may truly think, to face all these troubles with concentrated strength and undivided resources, none can be more extraordinary than to take care to keep a disaffected province at your very gates. The moral charm of such a policy as that is only equalled by its practical common sense. Why, the other day—in the wilds of Donegal, there was occasion—or the Government thought there was occasion—to arrest a certain priest, and to carry this priest in the midst of his flock to the Court-house, where he was about to be tried; it required a force of horse, foot, and artillery of something like 500 or 600 of Her Majesty's troops. Now it does not need a very elaborate arithmetical calculation to satisfy ourselves, if it takes 600 troops to safely look after one insignificant parish priest in the wilds of Donegal for trial, how many troops will it take to hold Ireland when half the population are sworn Fenians, or else in close sympathy with Fenianism?

So much for the noble lord's argument, because that was the real argument of his speech. No, Sir, gentlemen here may depend upon it that, if the time ever comes, as it has come before, when this great and mighty realm shall be called once more by destiny or her duty to face a world in arms in some high cause and policy of State, she will only have her strength concentrated and resources undivided on the condition that her statesmen and her people have plucked up the root of strife in Ireland, and turned the domestic enemy on our flank into our friend and ally. But I think we may all agree to recognise the hollowness of the cause, when so able a man as the noble lord appealing to you in the name of the Empire and the strength of the Empire, argues for the perpetuation of a state of things which morally, and politically, and materially weakens, disables, and cripples the forces of the Empire. So much for the goal of the policy which the noble lord pressed upon you. It is the same goal which Ministers—the same lord is no longer a Minister—it is the same goal which Ministers are constantly alleging in the House of Commons that they place before themselves, and most paradoxical and extraordinary things they say in defence of the proposition that they are reaching the goal. What is the goal? The goal is to give to Ireland the same reverence for the laws, the same material prosperity, the same contentment and tranquillity, that we have in England and Scotland. Yes, but there are some very astonishing congratulations to be heard in the Ministerial camp as to the speed with which, and as to the manner in which, they are nearing that goal. For instance, the Attorney-General said the other day that they must be considered to be surmounting the difficulties that concerned English government in Ireland. Well, but why? The Attorney-General said that the Government were surmounting difficulties in Ireland, because meetings and movements which had once been open were now secret. I am sure that many of you, though you have other things to do than to follow very closely the history of Ireland, and of the good and bad movements in Ireland, must be well aware that the great bane of Ireland and of Scotland when they cross the seas—whether they go to the United States or the English Colonies—has been secret association. The great triumph, I will say, of the League

and of the National Movement since the year 1880 has been that those associations which formerly were secret, and therefore dangerous, are now open, and will be open as long as this most reckless Government will allow them to be. Ask yourselves—I appeal to your candour—ask yourselves whether, if treason is taught, is murder likely to be hatched in open meetings? No, it is impossible. But what is possible? I am afraid that what is certain is, that if you repress public combination—if you go through that odious and ridiculous process which is called driving discontent beneath the surface—if you do that, you are taking the surest steps that can be taken to have treason and murder hatched.—*From an Address at the Oxford Union Society, February 29th, 1888.*

### LORD ROSEBERY, 1847.

Statesman. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. The son of Lord Archibald Dalmeny. M.P., he succeeded his grandfather in the family title in 1868. Entering public life he became successively Commissioner on Scotch Endowments, 1872; Rector of Aberdeen University, 1878-81; Rector of Edinburgh University, 1882-83. Prior to this, in 1881 he had accepted office in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry as Under-Secretary for the Home Office. This position he held until 1883. In 1885 he became successively Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works. In 1886 he was selected by Mr. Gladstone to fill the responsible position of Foreign Secretary. His term of office was brief, but on Mr. Gladstone's return to power in 1892, he was again appointed, and discharged the duties until 1894. Mr. Gladstone's retirement in that year was followed by his elevation to the supreme office, and his exchange of the Foreign Secretaryship for the Lord Presidency of the Council. Throughout his political career Lord Rosebery has been greatly interested in London questions. He was Chairman of the London County Council in 1889-90 and again in 1892.

### THE DEATH OF BURNS

THIS is much more than a Scottish demonstration; it is a collection of representatives from all quarters of the globe to own a common allegiance and a common faith. It is not only Scotsmen honouring the greatest of Scotsmen—we stretch far beyond a kingdom or a race—we are rather a sort of poetical Mohammedans gathered at a sort of poetical Mecca.

And yet we are assembled in our high enthusiasm under circumstances which are somewhat paradoxical. For with all the appearance of joy, we celebrate not a festival, but a tragedy. It is not the sunrise, but the sunset that we commemorate. It is not the birth of a new power into the world, the subtle germ of a fame that is to survive and inspire the generations of men; but it is perhaps more fitting that we celebrate the end and not the beginning. For the coming of these figures is silent; it is their disappearance that we know. At this instant that I speak there may be born into the world the equal of a Newton or a Cæsar, but half of us would be dead before he had revealed himself. Their death is different. It may be gloomy and disastrous; it may come at a moment of shame or neglect; but by that time the man has carved his name somewhere on the Temple of Fame. There are exceptions, of course; cases where the end comes before the slightest, or any but the slightest, recognition—Chatterton choking in his garret, hunger of body and soul all unsatisfied; Millet selling his pictures for a song; nay, Shakespeare himself. But, as a rule, death in the case of genius closes the first act of a public drama; criticism and analysis may then begin their unbiassed work free from jealousy or friendship or personal consideration for the living. Then comes the third act, if third act there be.

No, it is a death, not a birth, that we celebrate. This day a century ago,

in poverty, delirium, and distress, there was passing the soul of Robert Burns. To him death comes in clouds and darkness, the end of a long agony of body and soul; he is harassed with debt, his bodily constitution is ruined, his spirit is broken, his wife is daily expecting her confinement. He has lost almost all that rendered life happy—much of friendship, credit, and esteem. Some score years before, one of the most charming of English writers, as he lay dying, was asked if his mind was at ease, and with his last breath Oliver Goldsmith owned that it was not. So it was with Robert Burns. His delirium dwelt on the horrors of a gaol, he uttered curses on the tradesman who was pursuing him for debt: "What business," said he to his physician in a moment of consciousness, "What business has a physician to waste his time over me? I am a poor pigeon not worth plucking. Alas! I have not feathers enough to carry me to my grave." For a year or more his health had been failing. He had a poet's body as well as a poet's mind; nervous, feverish, impressionable, and his constitution, which, if nursed and regulated, might have carried him to the limit of life, was unequal to the storm and stress of dissipation and a preying mind. In the previous autumn he had been seized with a rheumatic attack; his digestion had given way; he was sunk in melancholy and gloom. In his last April he wrote to his friend Thomson, "By Babel's stream, etc. Almost ever since I wrote you last, I have only known existence by the pressure of the heavy hand of sickness, and have counted time by the repercussions of pain! Rheumatism, cold, and fever have formed to me a terrible trinity in unity, which makes me close my eyes in misery, and open them without hope." It was sought to revive him by sea-bathing, and he went to stay at Braw Well. There he remained three weeks, but was under no delusion as to his state. "Well, madam," he said to Mrs. Riddell on arriving, "have you any commands for the other world?" He sat that evening with his old friend, and spoke manfully of his approaching death, of the fate of his children, and his fame; sometimes indulging in bitter-sweet pleasantry, but never losing the consciousness of his condition. In three weeks he wearied of the fruitless hunt for health, and he returned home to die. He was only just in time. When he re-entered his home on the 18th he could no longer stand; he was soon delirious; in three days he was dead. "On the fourth day," we are told, "when his attendant held a cordial to his lips he swallowed it eagerly, rose almost wholly up, spread out his hands, sprang forward nigh the whole length of the bed, fell on his face, and expired."

I suppose there are many who can read the account of these last months with composure. They are more fortunate than I. There is nothing much more melancholy in all biography. The brilliant poet, the delight of all society, from the highest to the lowest, sits brooding in silence over the drama of his spent life; the early innocent home, the plough and the shadow of fresh-turned earth; the silent communion with Nature and his own heart, the brief hour of splendour, the dark hour of neglect, the mad struggle for forgetfulness, the bitterness of vanished homage, the gnawing doubt of fame, the distressful future of his wife and children—an endless witch-dance of thought without clue or remedy, all perplexing, all soon to end while he is yet young, as men reckon youth; though none knew so well as he that his youth is gone, his race is run, his message is delivered.

His death revived the flagging interest and pride that had been felt for him. As usual, men began to realise what they had lost when it was too late. When it was known that he was dying the townspeople had shown anxiety and distress. They recalled his fame and forgot his fall. One man was heard to ask, with a



touch of quaint simplicity, "Who do you think will be our poet now?" The district set itself to prepare a public funeral for the poet who died penniless among them. A vast concourse followed him to his grave. The awkward squad, as he had foreseen and deprecated, fired volleys over his coffin. The streets were lined with soldiers, among them one who, within sixteen years, was to be Prime Minister. And while the procession wended its gloomy way as if no element of tragedy were to be wanting, his widow's hour of travail arrived, and she gave birth to the hapless child that had caused the father so much misgiving. In this place and on this day it all seems present to us—the house of anguish, the thronged churchyard, the weeping neighbours. We feel ourselves part of the mourning crowd. We hear those dropping volleys and that muffled drum; we bow our heads as the coffin passes, and acknowledge with tears the inevitable doom. Pass, heavy hearse, with thy weary freight of shattered hopes and exhausted frame; pass, with thy simple pomp of fatherless bairns and sad, moralising friends; pass, with the sting of death to the victory of the grave; pass, with the perishable, and leave us the eternal.—*From a Speech in the Drill Hall, Dumfries, on July 21st, 1896, the centenary of the death of Robert Burns.*

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

My Lords, this is, as has been pointed out, an unique occasion. Mr. Gladstone always expressed a hope that there might be an interval left to him between the end of his political and of his natural life. That period was given to him, for it is more than four years since he quitted the sphere of politics. Those four years have been with him a special preparation for his death, but have they not also been a preparation for his death with the nation at large? Had he died in the plenitude of his power as Prime Minister, would it have been possible for a vigorous and convinced Opposition to allow to pass to him, without a word of dissent, the honours which are now universally conceded? Hushed for the moment are the voices of criticism; hushed are the controversies in which he took part; hushed for the moment is the very sound of party conflict. I venture to think that this is a notable fact in our history. It was not so with the elder Pitt. It was not so with the younger Pitt. It was not so with the elder Pitt—in spite of his tragic end, of his unrivalled services, and of his enfeebled old age. It was not so with the younger Pitt—in spite of his long control of the country and his absolute and absorbed devotion to the State. I think that we should remember this as creditable not merely to the man, but to the nation.

My Lords, there is one deeply melancholy feature of Mr. Gladstone's death—by far the most melancholy—to which I think none of my noble friends have referred. I think that all our thoughts must be turned, now that Mr. Gladstone is gone, to that solitary and pathetic figure who, for sixty years shared all the sorrows and all the joys of Mr. Gladstone's life; who received his every confidence and every aspiration; who shared his triumphs with and cheered him under his defeats; who by her tender vigilance, I firmly believe, sustained and prolonged his years. I think that the occasion ought not to pass without letting Mrs. Gladstone know that she is in all our thoughts to-day. And yet, my Lords—putting that one figure aside—to me, at any rate, this is not an occasion for absolute and entire and unreserved lamentation. Were it, indeed, possible so to protract the inexorable limits of human life that we might have hoped that future years, and even future generations, might see Mr. Gladstone's face and hear his matchless voice, and receive the lessons of his unrivalled experience—we might, perhaps,

grieve to-day as those who have no hope. But that is not the case. He had long exceeded the span of mortal life ; and his latter months had been months of unspeakable pain and distress. He is now in that rest for which he sought and prayed, and which was to give him relief from an existence which had become a burden to him. Surely this should not be an occasion entirely for grief ; when a life prolonged to such a limit, so full of honour, so crowned with glory, had come to its termination. The nation lives that produced him. The nation that produced him may yet produce others like him ; and, in the meantime, it is rich in his memory, rich in his life, and rich, above all, in his animating and inspiring example. Nor do I think that we should regard this heritage as limited to our own country or to our own race. It seems to me that, if we may judge from the papers of to-day, that it is shared by, that it is the possession of all civilised mankind, and that generations still to come, through many long years will look for encouragement in labour, for fortitude in adversity, for the example of a sublime Christianity, with constant hope and constant encouragement, to the pure, the splendid, the dauntless figure of William Ewart Gladstone.—*From a Speech in the House of Lords on May 20th, 1898, the day succeeding Mr. Gladstone's death.*

LONDON

I do not believe—it is a commonplace to say it—that in the history of the world there has ever been such a problem for statesmen as this of London. I am not allowed to call it a city, because the City of London is only a small part of it. But there has never been such a problem to exercise the faith, and the ingenuity, and the enterprise, and the enthusiasm of mankind as this great conglomeration of human beings which is called London. Because it surrounds the Houses of Parliament it seems to be hardly anything to those Houses of Parliament ; because it is the most present and the most pressing of problems it seems to be the one problem which Governments always determine to ignore. Developments of industry do not in any degree promise any hope of relieving the superfluous population of London or to take it elsewhere. All these developments of machinery—this new cheap motor principle, for example—promise exactly the reverse. The promised elimination of employment in the country, and fresh additional flocking of the rural population into the towns. This new problem of London is not waxing less but is waxing greater. You, Sir Walter, see in London a beautiful woman. Let the beauty pass. But she is a woman, with her arms in one place, legs in another, her head in another, and her heart in another. What is this great desert, inhabited by neglected humanity ? Is it a town, populous indeed, but remote from the seat of Empire ? No ; it is the seat of Empire itself. You have alluded, Sir, to the enterprise which has sent forth from London great schemes of colonisation. You have drawn an eloquent and pathetic picture of the dying young King, drawn from his death-bed to see the last adventurer pass on his northern journey. But after all, that is only a type of what is going on every day. The last great speech made by Lord Beaconsfield was the speech with regard to the retention of Kandahar. Lord Beaconsfield rose at the end of the debate, and, as was not unusual with him, threw over all the previous speakers from his own side. They had said that Kandahar was the key of India. He said : “ I hear a great deal of nonsense about this.” That was the gist of his remarks. I presume he put it more politely ; I am only speaking from memory. “ I am told that the key of India is Kandahar, or that the key of India is Herat. No, my Lords, the key of India is neither one nor the other. The key of India is London.”

That is a true saying. But you may extend it much further than that. The key of the British Empire is London; it is that great city in which we live. If, then, representing as it does a population equal to that of many kingdoms converted into a small span—if, then, the key of the Empire as it is, it cannot merit in a greater degree the attention of statesmen of the future than it has the statesmen of the past, I can only bid you pluck up your energies and stimulate them by the remarkable lecture that we have heard this evening. Be proud that you are citizens of no mean city, and determine, in so far as it lies with you, it shall be not meaner, not even so mean, as it is, but worthy of its central position, of its great history, and of its immeasurable destinies.—*From a Speech as Chairman at the Queen's Hall, London, on December 7th, 1896, on the occasion of a Lecture by Sir Walter Besant.*

### THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, 1848

**Premier.** The son of Mr. James Maitland Balfour by Lady Blanche Cecil, the second daughter of the second Marquess of Salisbury, Mr. Balfour was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Entering Parliament in 1874 as member for Hertford, he made his mark during the tenure of power of the third Gladstone Ministry as a member of the small knot of Conservative irregulars popularly known as the Fourth Party. On Lord Salisbury's accession to power in 1885 he was appointed President of the Local Government Board. In the following year, when Lord Salisbury formed his second Ministry, Mr. Balfour was made Secretary for Scotland and given Cabinet rank. On the resignation of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach of the Irish Chief Secretaryship in 1887, he was chosen for the post, and distinguished himself in the position by his firm, unflinching administration of the law in the face of violent opposition. On the death of Mr. W. H. Smith in 1891 he became First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House. Further promotion awaited him in 1902, when, on Lord Salisbury's retirement from public life, he became Prime Minister. Was First Lord of Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons 1895 to 1906.

#### AN APPRECIATION OF MR. GLADSTONE

It is now seventeen years and more since a Minister rose in his place to discharge the melancholy duty which now falls upon me. It then fell to the lot of one of two great contemporaries divided in political opinion, opposed to each other for more than a generation, separated, it may be, even more conclusively by differences of temperament. The task which then fell to Mr. Gladstone was one of infinite difficulty, for he had to propose an address similar to that which you, Sir, will shortly read from the chair, at a time when the controversies which had just been ended by death were still living in the immediate recollection of every one to whom he spoke, before the dust of battle had had time to sink, and when the worst of it was still in every ear. How Mr. Gladstone performed that great task is, I am sure, a living part of the recollection of every member of the House who was at that time a member of Parliament, and I am only glad to think that, difficult as is the task which I have to perform to-day, impossible indeed, from certain aspects, at all events the difficulties with which he then had to contend do not beset my path. I shall have no difficulty in inducing even the most scrupulous to join in an address which we shall, I believe, unanimously vote this afternoon, for all feel that the great career that has just drawn to a close is a career already in a large part a matter of history, and none of us will find even a momentary difficulty in forgetting any of the controversial aspects of that life, even though we ourselves to some extent had been involved in them. I have said that Mr. Gladstone's great career is already in a large part and to most of us a matter

of history, for he was a Cabinet Minister before most of us were born. I believe there is in this House at the present time but one man who served under Mr. Gladstone in the first Cabinet over which he presided as Prime Minister; and even members of the House who were colleagues of Mr. Gladstone, and who were members of the Parliament of 1868 to 1874, even those form now but a small and ever-dwindling band.

This is not the place, this is still more not the time nor the occasion, on which to attempt any estimate of a career which began on the morrow of the first Reform Bill, which lasted for two generations, and which, so far as politics were concerned, was brought to a close a few years ago, during the fourth time of Mr. Gladstone's tenure of office as Prime Minister. But, Sir, during those two generations—during those sixty years this country went through a series of changes, revolutionary in amount, not by procedure, changes in science, changes scientific, changes theological, changes social, changes political. In all these phases of contemporary evolution Mr. Gladstone took the liveliest interest. All of them he watched closely, in many of them he took a part, in some of them the part he took was supreme—that of a governing and guiding influence. Sir, how is it possible for us on the present occasion to form, I will not say an estimate of a life so complex as that—a life far from being exhausted by political considerations, a life exuberant outside the work of this House, the work of party politics, the work of Imperial Administration—how is it possible, I say, for any one to pretend to exhaust the many-sided aspects of such a life even on such an occasion as this? I feel myself unequal even to dealing with what is, perhaps, more strictly germane to this address—I mean, Mr. Gladstone as a politician, as a Minister, as a leader of public thought, as an eminent servant of the Queen; and if I venture to say anything, it is rather of Mr. Gladstone the greatest member of the greatest deliberative assembly, which, so far, the world has seen.

Sir, I think it is the language of sober and of unexaggerated truth to say that there is no gift which would enable a man to move, to influence, to adorn an assembly like this that Mr. Gladstone did not possess in a super-eminent degree. Debaters as ready there may have been, orators as finished. It may have been given to others to sway as skilfully this assembly, or to appeal with as much directness and force to the simpler instincts of the great masses in the country; but, Sir, it has been given to no man to combine all these great gifts as they were combined in the person of Mr. Gladstone. From the conversational discussion appropriate to our work in committees, to the most sustained eloquence befitting some great argument, and some great historic occasion, every weapon of Parliamentary warfare was wielded by him with the success and ease of a perfect, absolute, and complete mastery. I would not venture myself to pronounce an opinion as to whether he was most excellent in the exposition of a somewhat complicated budget of finance or legislation, or whether he showed it most in the heat of extemporary debate. At least this we may say, that from the humbler arts of ridicule or invective to the subtlest dialectic, the most persuasive eloquence, the most cogent appeals to everything that was highest and best in the audience that he was addressing, every instrument which could find place in the armoury of a member of this House, he had at his command without premeditation, without forethought, at the moment and in the form which appeared best suited to carry out his purpose.

I suppose every one of us who has had the good fortune to be able to watch any part of that wonderful career must have in mind some particular example which seems to embody the greatest excellences of this most excellent member of Parliament. Sir, the scene which comes back to my mind is one relating to

an outworn and half-forgotten controversy, now more than twenty years past, in which, as it happened, Mr. Gladstone was placed in the most difficult position which it is possible for a man to occupy—a position in which he finds himself opposed to the united and vigorous forces of his ordinary opponents, but does not happen to have behind him more than the hesitating and somewhat timid sympathy of his friends. On this particular occasion, however, there was one of those preliminary debates—I ought to say serious debates—which precede the main business of the evening. In this Mr. Gladstone had to speak, not once, not twice only, but several times, and it was not until hour after hour had passed in this preliminary skirmishing, that to a House hostile and impatient and utterly weary, he got up to present his case with the conviction that he was right, which was his great strength as a speaker in and out of this House. I can never forget the impression it made on my mind. As a feat of physical endurance it was almost unsurpassed; as a feat of Parliamentary courage, Parliamentary skill, of Parliamentary eloquence, I believe that it was almost unique.

Sir, alas! let no man hope to be able to reconstruct from our records any living likeness of these great works of genius. The words, indeed, are there, lying side by side with the words of lesser men in an equality as if of death; but the spirit, the fire, the inspiration are gone, and he who could alone revive, he who alone could show us what these works really were, or reproduce them for us, has now been taken away. Posterity must take it on our testimony what he was to those friends or foes whose fortune it was to hear him. We who thus heard him know that, though our days may be prolonged, and that though it may be our fortune to see the dawn or even the meridian of other men destined to illuminate this House, and to do great and glorious service to their sovereign and their country, we shall never again in this assembly see any man who can reproduce for us what Mr. Gladstone was—who can show to those who never heard him how much they have lost. It may, perhaps, be asked whether I have nothing to say about Mr. Gladstone's place in history, about the judgment we ought to pass upon the great part which he has played in the history of his country and the history of the world during the many years in which he held a foremost place in this assembly. These questions are legitimate questions. But they are not to be discussed by me to-day. Nor, indeed, do I think that the final answer can be given to them—the final judgment pronounced—in the course of this generation. But one service he did—in my opinion incalculable—which is altogether apart from the judgment which we may be disposed to pass on the particular opinions, the particular views, or the particular lines of policy which Mr. Gladstone may from time to time have adopted. Sir, he added a dignity and he added a weight to the deliberations of this House by his genius which I think it is impossible adequately to express.

It is not enough, in my opinion, to keep up simply a level, though it be a high level, of probity and of patriotism. The mere virtue of civic honesty is not sufficient to preserve this assembly from the fate which has overcome so many other assemblies, the products of democratic forces. More than this is required, more than this was given to us by Mr. Gladstone. Those who seek to raise in the public estimation the level of our proceedings will be the most ready to admit the infinite value of those services, and realise how much the public prosperity is involved in the maintenance of the work of public life. Perilously difficult must his contemporaries feel it to be to avoid the dangers—the opposite dangers—into which so many of them have fallen. Sir, that is a view which, perhaps, would not seem to persons unfamiliar with our debates, or unwatchful of the course of contem-

porary thought ; but to me it seems that it places the services of Mr. Gladstone to this assembly, which he loved so well, and of which he was so great a member, in as clear a light and on as firm a basis as it is possible to place them.—*Speech in the House of Commons.*

#### POSITIVISM AND CHRISTIANITY

The religion of humanity seems specially fitted to meet the tastes of that comparatively small and prosperous class who are unwilling to leave the dry bones of agnosticism wholly unclothed with any living tissue of religious emotion, and who are at the same time fortunate enough to be able to persuade themselves that they are contributing, or may contribute by their individual efforts, to the attainment of some great ideal for mankind. But what has it to say to the more obscure multitude who are absorbed and well-nigh overwhelmed in the constant struggle with daily needs and narrow cares, who have but little leisure or inclination to consider the precise rôle they are called on to play in the great drama of humanity, and who might in any case be puzzled to discover its interest or importance ?

Can it assure them that there is no human being so insignificant as not to be of infinite worth in the eyes of Him who created the heavens, or so feeble that his actions may have consequence of infinite moment long after this material system shall have crumbled into nothingness ? Does it offer consolation to those who are in grief, hope to those who are bereaved, strength to the weak, forgiveness to the sinful, rest to those who are weary and heavy-laden ? If not, then, whatever be its merits, it is no rival to Christianity. There is in it no nourishment for ordinary human souls, no comfort for ordinary human sorrow, no help for ordinary human weakness. Not less than the crudest irreligion does it leave us men divorced from all communion with God, face to face with the unthinking energies of Nature which gave us birth ; and into which, if supernatural religion be indeed a dream, we must, after a few fruitless struggles, be again resolved.

#### THE BIBLE

Those of you who have listened to the speech just delivered by the president of your society, Lord Northampton, may well feel a thrill of pride, and even something of astonishment, at the extraordinary work which has been done during the last 100 years. How many institutions founded 100 years ago have gone on during the century of their life, steadily growing in influence, steadily increasing in their work, never having to withdraw on account of a mistake, always able to use to the uttermost the funds placed at their disposal, always conscious that such work as they have been able to do has been for the highest benefit of mankind ? Very few. And the men who 100 years ago founded this great society, could they have looked forward to the increasing work which, with increasing years, it has been permitted to accomplish, would have felt that when they founded it they were indeed engaged upon a great, a fruitful, and a beneficent undertaking. If I rightly caught the figures put before us by Lord Northampton, the languages into which the Bible or some portions of the Bible have been translated amount to something very near, if they do not actually reach, the figure of 400.

Putting religion aside, what a benefit to philology and to the allied sciences that great work is. But I need not say that it is not philology that has brought us here to-day. It is not the contribution to the science of man that has filled this

room, and that has induced the people of this country to subscribe to the work of the society in the past, and will, I hope, induce them to subscribe with even greater liberality, to its growing needs in the future. It is not science. It is religion. That is the cause of our assembling here to-day. That is the real motive force which must be behind any effectual work which this society has to do; any effectual appeal which it is likely to make to our countrymen. It is unnecessary, it is almost an empty form, to argue to such an assembly as this the benefit which religion is to mankind, and the benefit which the Bible is to religion. These are the commonplaces of the creed, I should imagine, of every man and every woman whom I am addressing here to-day. But we have to remember that that is not the universal view, even of those who are in no sense to be described as hostile to the religion which we profess.

In my view, however, whatever that view may be worth, the ever-increasing knowledge which we have of the history not only of Israel, but of all the nations who influence or were influenced by the Jewish people; our knowledge of the texts, our studies in the history of the Roman Empire immediately subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era—these things, so far from rendering the Bible less valuable to us or less interesting to us, from a religious point of view, greatly augment in every respect the value it must have for an educated community. These researches make it far more of a living record of the revelation of God to mankind than it ever was or ever could be to those who from the nature of the case had no adequate conception of the circumstances under which that revelation occurred, or the people to whom it was vouchsafed; and I most truly think that not only is the Bible now what it has always been to the unlearned—a source of consolation, of hope, of instruction—but it is to those who are more learned, but probably not nearer the Kingdom of Heaven, it is to them augmented in interest and not diminished, a more valuable source of spiritual life than it could ever have been in the pre-critical days. If I am right, and I believe I am, what value, what infinite value, must attach to the work of a society like this! In the first place for us, living here in Great Britain, absorbed and too much absorbed with our own religious differences, is it not something to be able to meet together in a cause intimately connected with religion, but not in any sense depending upon those sectarian differences which so frequently divide us? It must increase charity, and it must widen our outlook. There is always a danger in regard to everything—whether it be politics, or literature, or religion—that those who live in a narrow circle take a parochial view of the subjects with which they are concerned. Well, there is nothing parochial about this society. The world is its field. The 400 millions of human beings to whom Lord Northampton referred as having as yet had no opportunity of seeing a single word of the Scriptures in their own tongue—they carry us away, do they not, from any small and petty differences which may divide us? I do not wish to deny the reality of those differences; I do not wish to minimise their importance. But surely, when we are brought face to face by a society like this with the problem of spreading our religion over the whole universal globe, when we have brought to our imagination the variety of races, the variety of civilisations, the variety of cultures with which this society is immediately concerned, then if that prospect does not and cannot make us wholly forget those points of differences which divide us one from another, they may at all events enable us to put those differences in their right perspective.—*From a Speech delivered on March 6th, 1903, at the Mansion House, London, at the 100th Anniversary Meeting of the Bible Society.*

THE RIGHT HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, 1863

Born at Manchester. Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury since 1916. President of the Board of Trade, 1905-8; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1908-15; Minister of Munitions, 1915-16; Secretary of State for War, 1916.

DANGER OF BEING "TOO LATE"

THERE has never been a war in which machinery played anything like the part which it is playing in this War. The place acquired by machinery in the art of peace in the nineteenth century has been won by machinery in the grim art of war in the twentieth century. In no war ever fought in this world has the preponderance of machinery been so completely established. The German successes, such as they are, are entirely, or almost entirely, due to the mechanical preponderance which they achieved at the beginning of the War. Their advances in the East, West, and South are due to this mechanical superiority; and our failure to drive them back in the West and to check their advance in the East is also attributable to the tardiness with which the Allies developed their mechanical resources. The problem of victory is one of seeing that this superiority of the Central Powers shall be temporary, and shall be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment. There is one production in which the Allies had a complete mechanical superiority, and there they are supreme—that is in the Navy. Our command of the sea is attributable not merely to the excellence of our sailors, but to the overwhelming superiority of our machinery.

There is another aspect of this question which has become more and more evident as this War has developed and progressed. The machine spares the man. The machine is essential to defend positions of peril and it saves life, because the more machinery you have for defence, the more thinly you can hold the line, therefore, the fewer men are placed in positions of jeopardy to life and limb. We have discovered that some of the German advanced lines were held by exceptionally few men. It is a pretty well-known fact that one very strong position, held by the Germans for days and even for weeks, was defended against a very considerable French Army by ninety men, armed with about forty to fifty machine guns, the French losing heavily in making the attack. Machinery in that case spared the men who were defending. It is one portion of the function which has been entrusted to the Ministry of Munitions to increase the supply of machines in order to save the lives of our gallant men. On the other hand, it means fewer losses in attacking positions of peril, because it demolishes machine-gun emplacements, tears up barbed wire, destroys trenches, so that, therefore, the losses are much fewer when you are attacking strong positions held by the enemy. What we stint in materials we squander in life; that is the one great lesson of munitions.

Those are the main elements of the problem which the Prime Minister invited me to help in solving. . . . It is quite impossible for us to give any sort of statement as to what is being done unless I first indicate what headway we had to make. There was undoubtedly a shortage. That was known. Our troops knew it; so did the enemy. But neither of them knew how really short we were in some very essential particulars.

It is too early to talk about over-production. The most fatuous way of economising is to produce an inadequate supply. A good margin is but a sensible insurance. Less than enough is a foolish piece of extravagance. £200,000,000



will produce an enormous quantity of ammunition. It is forty days' cost of the War. If you have it at the crucial moment your war might be won in the forty days. If you have not got it it might run to 400 days. What sort of economy is that? But it is not merely that. It is this—and this is a fact which I mean to repeat in every speech that I make on the question: What you spare in money you spill in blood. I have a very remarkable photograph—I do not think I ought to say where I got it—of the battlefield of Loos, taken immediately after the battle. There was barbed wire which had not been destroyed. There was one machine-gun emplacement intact, only one. The others had been destroyed. There, in front of the barbed wire, lay hundreds of gallant men. There was one machine gun—one. These are the accidents you can obviate. How? Every soldier tells me there is but one way of doing it. You must have enough ammunition to crash in every trench wherein the enemy lurks, to destroy every concrete emplacement, to shatter every machine gun, to rend and tear every yard of barbed wire, so that if the enemy want to resist they will have to do it in the open, face to face with better men than themselves. That is the secret—plenty of ammunition. I hope that this idea that we are turning out too much will not enter into the mind of workman, capitalist, taxpayer, or anybody until we have enough to crash our way through to victory. You must spend wisely; you must spend to the best purpose; you must not pay extravagant prices; but, for Heaven's sake, if there are risks to be taken, let them be risks for the pocket of the taxpayer, and not for the lives of the soldiers!

The right path of economy is, therefore, not to reduce the output, but to reduce the cost, and labour alone can help us here. There are only 8 per cent. of the machines for turning out lathes in this country working on night shifts. [An HON. MEMBER: "Why?"] I am coming to the reason why. We have appealed to the employers. They say, "We cannot get the labour." It is true. They have not got the skilled labour. But there are many of these operations which could—I will not say just as effectively, but effectively enough—be discharged by unskilled men and women. We have done everything we could to supply skilled labour. We have done our best to increase the efficiency of labour. We have had a most able Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir George Newman, trying to increase the efficiency of labour by seeing that the men and women get good conditions for working. The abolition of Sunday labour has been recommended. There are committees on fatigue. There are questions of health welfare. There are questions of canteens. All these questions are being gone into with a view to improving the strength of the men, enabling them to endure and to do better work while they are at it. We have done our best by means of a great system of munition volunteers to fill up the gaps. It is no use going into the question why we did not get more than 5,000 or 6,000. We are trying to get men from the Colours, but it is a great rearguard action. It is like getting through barbed wire entanglements without heavy guns. There are entrenchments behind entrenchments. You have not merely the Army, the corps, the division, the brigade, the battalion, and the company, but the platoon, and even the squad—everybody fighting to prevent men from coming away. I am not surprised. I am not blaming them. Skilled men at any trade are skilled men at every trade. Your intelligent skilled man is a good man in the trenches, and nobody wants to lose him. Therefore every corporal fights against parting with a good, intelligent, skilled workman. As my hon. friend points out, the men themselves feel that they are running away from danger in order to go back to comfort and high wages and emoluments, and they do not like it. It is a very creditable story. At last I

think we are beginning to get over these difficulties, largely through the pertinacity and tact of Major Scott. Let me again acknowledge the very great assistance we have got from hon. Members of this House. Hon. Members have assisted very materially, not merely by what they did, but by their very presence. They have no idea how much that counts. The fact that it was known that hon. Members had taken particular interest in the matter and were helping enabled us to get the men. We have got a very considerable number, but nothing like what we want. It all depends upon organized labour. Unless they allow us to place unskilled men and women at work which hitherto perhaps has been the monopoly of skilled men, in order that we may take the highly skilled men away and put them into other work, we cannot do what we want. You may ask why it has not been done? I will tell the House why. It is far better that the House should be told quite frankly. The leaders of the trade unions made an agreement, but we found exactly the same difficulties as we found in the release of men from the Colours. If you go down, down, down, there is an action to be fought in every area, every district, every town, every workshop, every lodge—they all fight against it. The weakness is this: Our bargain was that we should restrict the profits of the employer. To a certain extent the fact that we have kept our bargain has been against us. Why? A few employers have done their very best to what we call dilute the labour, and they have been met with unquestionable resistance. It has taken us weeks to overcome this resistance. The rest of the employers know this, and say, "At any rate, we have no personal interest in the matter. If we increase the output by means of night shifts it does not increase our profits." The personal interest has been completely eliminated, and when men are working hard superintending their work, and anxious enough work, and suffering from over-strain, they really do not feel like embarking in a conflict with their own men in order to increase the output which so far as their works are concerned makes no difference. So that really we are suffering because we carried out our bargain with labour. There is only one appeal to employer and employed; it is the appeal to patriotism! The employer must take steps. He is loth to do it. It is a sort of inertia which comes to tired and over-strained men—as they all are. They must really face the local trade unions, and put forward the demand, because until they do so the State cannot come in. [AN HON. MEMBER: "Martial law!"] We have had an Act of Parliament, but the law must be put into operation by somebody. Unless the employer begins by putting on the lathes unskilled men and women we cannot enforce that Act of Parliament. The first step, therefore, is that the employer must challenge a decision upon the matter. He is not doing so because of the trouble which a few other firms have had. Let us do it. Victory depends upon it! Hundreds of thousands of precious lives depend upon it. It is a question of whether you are going to bring this War victoriously to an end in a year or whether it is going to linger on in bloodstained paths for years. Labour has got the answer. The contract was entered into with labour. We are carrying it out. It can be done. I wonder whether it will not be too late? Ah! two fatal words of this War! Too late in moving here. Too late in arriving there. Too late in coming to this decision. Too late in starting with enterprises. Too late in preparing. In the War the footsteps of the Allied forces have been dogged by the mocking spectre of "Too Late"; and unless we quicken our movements damnation will fall on the sacred cause for which so much gallant blood has flowed. I beg employers and workmen not to have "Too Late" inscribed upon the portals of their workshops: that is my appeal.

Everything in the next few months of this War depends upon it. What has

happened? We have had the co-operation of our Allies. Great results have been arrived at. At the last conference of the Allies decisions were arrived at which will affect the whole conduct of the War. The carrying of them out depends upon the workmen of this country. The superficial facts of the War are for the moment against us. All the fundamental facts are in our favour. That means we have every reason for looking the facts steadily in the face. There is nothing but encouragement in them if we look beneath the surface. The chances of victory are still with us. We have thrown away many chances. But for the most part the best still remains. In this War the elements that make for success in a short war were with our enemies. All the advantages that make for victory in a long war were ours, and are still! Better preparation before the War, interior lines, unity of command—those belonged to the enemy. More than that, undoubtedly, he has shown greater readiness than we to learn the lessons of the War and to adapt himself to them. He had a better conception at first of what war really meant. Heavy guns, machine guns, trench warfare—that was his study! Our study was the sea. We have accomplished our task there to the last letter of the promise. The advantages of a protracted war are ours. We have an overwhelming superiority in the raw material of war. It is still with us in spite of the fact that the Central Powers have by their successes increased their reserve of men and material. The overwhelming superiority is still with us. We have the command of the sea that gives us ready access to neutral countries. Above all—and this tells in a long war—we have the better cause. It is better for the heart. Nations do not endure to the end for a bad cause. All these advantages are ours. But this is the moment of intense preparation. It is the moment of putting the whole of our energies at home into preparing for the blow to be struck abroad. Our Fleet and the gallantry of the troops of the Allies have given us time to muster our reserves. Let us utilise that time without the loss of a moment. Let us cast aside the fond illusion that you can win victory by an elaborate pretence that you are doing so. Let us fling to one side rivalries, trade jealousies, professional, political, everything. Let us be one people! One in aim, one in action, one in resolution to win the most sacred cause ever entrusted to a great nation.

#### THE RIGHT HON. HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH, P.C., 1852

Born at Morley, Yorkshire, and educated at City of London School and Balliol College, Oxford.  
 Secretary of State for the Home Department 1892-5; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1905-8;  
 Secretary of State for War 1914; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury 1908-16.

#### BRITAIN'S HONOUR

IN asking the House to agree to the resolution I do not propose, because I do not think it is any way necessary, to traverse the ground again which was covered by my right hon. friend the Foreign Secretary two or three nights ago. He stated, and I do not think any of the statements he made are capable of answer, and certainly have not yet been answered (cheers), the grounds upon which with the utmost reluctance and infinite regret his Majesty's Government have been compelled to put this country in a state of war with what for many years, and, indeed, generations past, has been a friendly Power. But, Sir, the papers which have since been presented to Parliament and are now in the hands of members will, I think, show how strenuous, how unrelenting, how persistent even when the last glimmer of hope seemed to have faded away, were the efforts of my right hon.

friend (cheers) to secure for Europe an honourable and lasting peace. Every one knows that in the great crisis which occurred last year in the East of Europe it was largely, if not mainly, by the acknowledgment of all Europe, due to the steps taken by my right hon. friend that the area of the conflict was limited, and that so far as the Great Powers were concerned peace was maintained. (Hear, hear.) If his efforts on this occasion have unhappily been less successful I am certain that this House and the country, and I will add posterity and history (cheers), will accord to him what is, after all, the best tribute that can be paid to any statesman: That, never derogating for an instant or by an inch from the honour and interests of his own country, he has striven as few men have striven to maintain and preserve that which is the greatest of interests of all countries—universal peace.

But, Sir, these papers show something more than that. (Hear, hear.) They show what were the terms which were offered to us in exchange for our neutrality.

I trust not only the members of this House, but all our fellow-subjects everywhere will read, learn, and mark the communications which passed only a week ago to-day between Berlin and London on this subject. The terms upon which it was sought to buy our neutrality (cheers) are contained in the communication made by the German Chancellor to Sir Edward Goschen on July 29, No. 85 of the published papers. I think I must refer to them for a moment. (Cheers.) After referring to the state of affairs between Austria and Russia, Sir Edward Goschen proceeds:—"He then proceeded to make the following strong bid for British neutrality. He said that it was clear so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy, that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed in any conflict there might be. That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided the neutrality of Great Britain were certain every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue."

Sir Edward Goschen proceeded to put a very pertinent question:—"I questioned his Excellency about the French colonies." What do the French colonies mean? They mean every part of the dominions and possessions of France outside the geographical area of Europe. "He said he is unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect." (Cheers and laughter.)

Let me come to what in this matter to my mind, speaking for myself personally, has always been crucial and almost the governing consideration—namely, the position of the small States. (Loud cheers.) He said:—"As regards Holland so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands Germany was ready to give his Majesty's Government an assurance that she would do likewise." Then we come to Belgium. "It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium, but when the War was over Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not decided against Germany." Let the House observe the distinction between these two cases. In regard to Holland, not only independence and integrity, but neutrality; but in regard to Belgium no mention of neutrality at all, but an assurance that after the War came to an end the integrity of Belgium would be respected. Then his Excellency added that "ever since he had been Chancellor the object of his policy had been to bring about an understanding with England; he trusted that these assurances might form the basis of that understanding which he so much desired." (Laughter.) What does that amount to? Let me just ask the House. I do so not with the object of inflaming passion, and certainly not with the object of exciting feeling against Germany, but I do so to

vindicate and make clear the position of the British Government and of Great Britain in this matter.

What did that proposal amount to? In the first place it meant this, that behind the back of France, which was not to be made a party to these communications at all, we should have given, if we had assented to them, free licence to Germany to annex in the event of a successful war the whole of the extra-European dominions and possessions of France. What did it mean as regards Belgium? Belgium, when she addressed, as she did address in these last days, her moving appeal to us to fulfil our solemn guarantee of her neutrality, what reply should we have given? What reply could we have given to that Belgian appeal? We should have been obliged to say that without her knowledge we had bartered away to the Power that was threatening her our obligation to keep our plighted word. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Sir, the House has read, and the country has read, in the course of the last few hours the most pathetic address by the King of the Belgians to his people. (Cheers.) I do not envy the man who could read that appeal with unmoved heart. (Cheers.) The Belgians are fighting, they are losing their lives. (Loud cheers.) What would have been the position of Great Britain to-day in the face of that spectacle if we had assented to this infamous proposal? (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Yes, and what were we to get in return? For the betrayal of our friends and the dishonour of our obligations, what were we to get in return? We were to get a promise—nothing more (laughter)—as to what Germany would do in certain eventualities, a promise, be it observed—I am sorry to have to say it, but it must be put upon record—a promise given by a Power which was at that very moment announcing its intention to violate its own Treaty obligations (cheers) and inviting us to do the same. I can only say, if we had even dallied or temporized with such an offer, we, as a Government, should have covered ourselves with dishonour. We should have betrayed the interests of this country of which we are the trustees. (Cheers.)

I am glad to turn to the reply which my right hon. friend made, and from which I will read to the House one or two of the more salient passages, because this document, No. 101, puts on record a week ago the attitude of the British Government and, as I believe, of the British people. My right hon. friend says:—"His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms. What he asks us in effect is to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is beaten so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies. From the material point of view"—my right hon. friend, as he always does, uses very temperate language—"such a proposal is unacceptable, for France without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a Great Power and become subordinate to German policy."

That is the material aspect. He proceeds:—"Altogether apart from that it would be a disgrace to us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover. (Loud cheers.) The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligations or interests we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either." He then says, in these circumstances "we must preserve our full freedom to act as circumstances may seem to us to require." I think in the circumstances the House will appreciate, I trust it will admire, the self-restraint of my right hon. friend. He then said, "The one way of maintaining

the good relations between England and Germany is that we should continue to work together to preserve the peace of Europe. . . . For that object his Majesty's Government will work with all sincerity and good will. . . . If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed my own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it as far as I could through the last Balkan crisis"—no statement was ever more true—"and Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the Powers than has been possible hitherto." (Cheers.)

That document, in my opinion, states clearly in temperate and dignified language the attitude of this country. (Cheers.) Can anyone who reads it and who realizes and appreciates the tone of obvious sincerity and earnestness which underlies it—can anyone honestly bring against the Government of this country the charge that in spite of great provocation—for I regard the proposals made to us as proposals we might have thrown aside without consideration and almost without answer (cheers)—can anyone doubt that in spite of great provocation my right hon. friend, who had already earned the title—no one ever more deserved it—of the peacemaker of Europe (cheers) persisted to the very last moment of the last hour in that great and beneficent but unhappily frustrated purpose? (Cheers.)

I am entitled to say, and I do say on behalf of this country—I speak not for a party but for the country as a whole (cheers)—we made every effort that a Government could possibly make for peace. This war has been forced upon us. (Cheers.)

And what is it that we are fighting for? No one knows better than the members of the Government the terrible and incalculable sufferings, economic, social, personal, political, which war, especially war between the Great Powers of the world, must entail. There is not a man among us sitting on this bench in these trying days—more trying, perhaps, than any body of statesmen for a hundred years has had to pass through—there is not a man among us who has not during the whole of that time had clearly before his vision the almost unequalled suffering which war, even in a just cause, must bring about, not only to us who are for the moment living in this country and in the other countries of the world, but to posterity and to the whole prospects of European civilization. Every step we took we took with that vision before our eyes, and with a sense of responsibility which it is impossible to describe. Unhappily, in spite of all our efforts to keep the peace, and with that full and overpowering consciousness of the results of the issue if we decided in favour of war, nevertheless, we have thought it to be the duty as well as the interest of this country to go to war. (Hear, hear.) The House may be well assured it was because we believe, and I am certain the country will believe, we are unsheathing our swords in a just cause. (Hear, hear.)

If I am asked what we are fighting for I can reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfil a solemn international obligation—an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law, but of honour, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. (Cheers.) I say, secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle which, in these days when material

force sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind, that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power. (Cheers.) I do not believe any nation ever entered into a great controversy—and this is one of the greatest history will ever know—with a clearer conscience and stronger conviction that it is fighting, not for aggression, not for the maintenance even of its own selfish interest, but in defence of principles the maintenance of which is vital to the civilization of the world, and with the full conviction, not only of the wisdom and justice, but of the obligations which lay upon us to challenge this great issue. (Loud cheers.) If we are entering into the struggle, let us now make sure that all the resources, not only of this United Kingdom, but of the vast Empire of which it is the centre, shall be thrown into the scale, and it is that that object may be adequately secured that I am now about to make the very unusual demand upon the Committee to give the Government a Vote of Credit of £100,000,000. (Loud cheers.) I am not going—and I am sure the Committee do not wish it—into the technical distinction between Votes of Credit and Supplementary Estimates. There is a much higher point of view than that. If it were necessary I could justify upon purely technical grounds the course we propose to adopt, but I am not going to do so because I think it would be foreign to the temper and disposition of the Committee.

There is one thing I do call attention to—that is, the title and heading of the Bill. As a rule in the past Votes of this kind have been taken simply for naval and military operations, but we have thought it right to ask the Committee to give us its confidence in the extension of the traditional area of Votes of Credit, so that this money which we are asking them to allow us to expend may be applied not only for strictly naval and military operations but to assist the food supplies, promote the continuance of trade, industry, business, and communications, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk or otherwise, for the relief of distress, and generally for all expenses arising out of the existence of a state of war. I believe the Committee will agree with us that it was wise to extend the area of the Vote of Credit so as to include all these serious matters. (Hear, hear.) It gives the Government a free hand. Of course the Treasury will account for it, and any expenditure that takes place will be subject to the approval of the House. I think it would be a great pity, in fact a great disaster, if in a crisis of this magnitude we were not enabled to make provision—provision far more needed now than it was under the simpler conditions that prevailed in the old days (hear, hear)—for all the various ramifications and developments of expenditure which the existence of a state of war between the Great Powers of Europe must entail on any one of them. (Hear, hear.)

I am asking also in my character of Secretary of State for War—a position which I held until this morning—for a Supplementary Estimate for men for the Army. Perhaps the Committee will allow me for a moment just to say on that personal matter that I took upon myself the office of Secretary of State for War under conditions upon which I need not go back, which are fresh in the minds of everyone, in the hope and with the object that the condition of things in the Army, which all of us deplored, might speedily be brought to an end, and complete confidence re-established. I believe that is the case, in fact I know it to be. (Loud cheers.) There is no more loyal and united body, no body in which the spirit and habit of discipline are more deeply ingrained and cherished than in the British Army. (Loud cheers.) Glad as I should have been to continue the work of that office, and would have done so under normal conditions, it would not be fair

to the Army, it would not be just to the country, that any Minister should divide his attention between that Department and another, still less that the First Minister of the Crown, who has to look into the affairs of all Departments, and is ultimately responsible for the whole policy of the Cabinet, should give, as he could only give, perfunctory attention to the affairs of our Army in the great War. (Hear, hear.) I am very glad to say that a very distinguished soldier and administrator in the person of Lord Kitchener, with the great public spirit and patriotism that every one would expect from him, at my request stepped into the breach. (Loud cheers.) Lord Kitchener, as every one knows, is not a politician. (Hear, hear.) His association with the Government as a member of the Cabinet for this purpose must not be taken as in any way identifying him with any set of political opinions. (Hear, hear.) He has at a great public emergency responded to a great public call, and I am certain he will have with him in the discharge of one of the most arduous tasks that has ever fallen upon a Minister the complete confidence of all parties and all opinions. (Cheers.)

I am asking on his behalf for the Army power to increase the number of men of all ranks, in addition to the number already voted, by no fewer than 500,000. I am certain the Committee will not refuse its sanction, for we are encouraged to ask for it not only by our own sense of the gravity and the necessities of the case, but by the knowledge that India is prepared to send us certainly two divisions, and that every one of our self-governing Dominions, spontaneously and unasked, has already tendered to the utmost limits of their possibilities, both in men and in money, every help they can afford to the Empire in a moment of need. (Loud cheers.) Sir, the Mother Country must set the example, while she responds with gratitude and affection to those filial overtures from the outlying members of her family. (Loud cheers.)

I will say no more. This is not an occasion for controversial discussion. In what I have said, either in the statement of our case or in my general description of the provision we think it necessary to make, I believe I have not gone beyond the strict bounds of truth. It is not my purpose—it is not the purpose of any patriotic man—to inflame feeling, to indulge in rhetoric, to excite international animosities. The occasion is far too grave for that. (Hear, hear.) We have a great duty to perform, we have a great trust to fulfil, and we confidently believe that Parliament and the country will enable us to do it. (Loud cheers.)

#### THE RIGHT HON. ANDREW BONAR LAW, LL.D., 1858

Born at New Brunswick and educated at New Brunswick Gilbert Field's School, Hamilton, and High School, Glasgow. Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade 1902-6; Secretary of State for the Colonies 1915-16; Leader of the Opposition at the House of Commons 1911-15; Leader of the House of Commons since 1916.

#### A FIGHT FOR CIVILISATION

No Minister has ever fulfilled a duty more responsible or in regard to which the responsibility was more acutely felt, than that which has just been fulfilled by the right hon. gentleman. This is not a time for speech-making, and I should have been quite ready to leave the statement which he has given to the Committee as the expression of the view, not of a party, but of a nation. (Cheers.) But as this, I think, will be the only opportunity which will be given for expressing the views of a large section of this House, I feel that I am bound to make it clear to



the Committee and to the country what is the attitude of his Majesty's Opposition on this question. There are two things which I desire to impress upon the Committee. The first is that we have dreaded war and have longed for peace as strongly as any section of this Committee; and the second is that in our belief we are in a state of war against our will, and that we, as a nation, have done everything in our power to prevent such a condition of things arising. (Cheers.) When this crisis first arose I confess that I was one of those who had the impulse to hope that even though a European conflagration took place, we might be able to stay out. I had that hope strongly. But in a short time I became convinced that into this War we should inevitably be drawn and that it really was a question only whether we should enter it honourably or be dragged into it with dishonour. (Cheers.)

I remember that on the first occasion after the retirement of my right hon. friend (Mr. Balfour) when I had to speak on foreign affairs I made this statement. It perhaps is wrong, though I do not think so even yet. I said that if ever war arose between Great Britain and Germany it would not be due to inevitable causes, for I did not believe in an inevitable war, but it would be due to human folly. (Cheers.) It is due to human folly and to human wickedness (cheers), but neither the folly nor the wickedness is here. (Cheers.) What other course was open to us? It is quite true, as the Foreign Secretary explained to the House the other day, that we were under no formal obligations to take part in such a struggle. But every member in this House knows that the entente meant this in the minds of this Government and of every other Government, that if any of the three Powers were attacked aggressively the others would be expected to step in and give their aid. (Hear, hear.) The question, therefore, to my mind, was this: Was this War in any way provoked by those who will now be our allies? No one who has read the *White Paper* can hesitate to answer that question. I am not going to go into it even as fully as the Prime Minister has done; but I would remind the House of this, that in this *White Paper* is contained a statement made by the German Ambassador, I think at Vienna, that Russia was not in a condition and could not go to war. And in the same letter are found these words:—"As for Germany, she knew very well what she was about in backing up Austria-Hungary in this matter." Now, every one for years has known that the key to peace or war lay in Berlin, and at this crisis no one doubts that Berlin, if it had chosen, could have prevented this terrible conflict. (Cheers.) I am afraid that the miscalculation which was made about Russia was made also about us. The dispatch which the right hon. gentleman referred to is a dispatch of a nature which I believe would not have been addressed to Great Britain if it had been believed that our hands were free and that we held the position which we had always held before the entente. That at least is my belief.

We are fighting, as the Prime Minister said, for the honour and, what with the honour is bound up always, the interest of our nation. But we are fighting also for the whole basis of the civilisation for which we stand and for which Europe stands. (Cheers.) I do not wish, any more than the Prime Minister, to inflame passion. I only ask the House to consider one aspect. Look at the way Belgium is being treated to-day. There is a report—if it is not true now it may be true to-morrow—that the city of Liège is invaded by German troops and that civilians, as in the days of the Middle Ages, are fighting for their hearths and homes against trained troops. How has that been brought about? In a state of war, war must be waged. But remember that this plan is not of to-day or of yesterday; that it has been long matured; that the Germans knew that they would have this to

face; and that they were ready to take the course which they took the other day of saying to Belgium, "Destroy your independence. Allow our troops to go through, or we will come down upon you with the might which it is impossible for you to resist." If we had allowed that to be done, our position as one of the great nations of the world and our honour as one of the nations of the world would in my opinion have been gone for ever. (Cheers.) This is no small struggle. It is the greatest, perhaps, that this country has ever engaged in. It is Napoleonism once again. (Hear, hear.) Thank Heaven, so far as we know, there is no Napoleon.

I am not going to say anything more about the causes of the War, for I do not desire to encourage controversy on this subject. But if I may be allowed to say so, I should like to say that I read yesterday with real pleasure an article in a paper which does not generally commend itself to me—the *Manchester Guardian*. (Hear, hear.) In that article it still held that the War ought not to have been entered upon; but it took this view, that that was a question for history, and that now we are in it there is only one question for us, and that is to bring it to a successful issue. (Cheers.)

Sir, I have full sympathy far more than at any other time for the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. I can imagine nothing more terrible than that the Foreign Secretary should have a feeling that perhaps he has brought his country into an unnecessary war. No feeling could be worse. I can say this, and, whether we are right or wrong, the whole House agrees with it, I am sure, that that is a burden which the right hon. gentleman can carry with a good conscience (cheers), and that every one of us can put up unhesitatingly this prayer: "May God defend the right."

I should like, if I may, to pass to another topic, for this is the only opportunity I can have. Consider the conditions under which this war is going to be carried on. I was pleased to hear the Prime Minister say the other day in answer to a speech of the hon. member for Merthyr Tydvil—he has developed it in describing the terms of this vote of credit—that he realized, as we all must realize, that in a country situated like ours the development of industry and the supply of food at home is just as much an operation of war as the conduct of our armed forces. (Cheers.) I do not wish to minimise our difficulties, but I am quite sure—as sure as I can be of anything—that there is no danger of a scarcity of food. (Hear, hear.) The only danger is the fear of a scarcity of food. (Hear, hear.) Every one who has been in business knows that what causes panic prices is not an actual scarcity at the time but a fear of scarcity coming. This is a case where every one of us must do all he can to impress upon the people of this country that there is, as I believe, no danger. (Cheers.) Here I should like to give one warning note. Remember—at least I believe it—that this War, unexpected by us, is not unexpected by our enemies; and I shall be greatly surprised if we do not find that at first on our trade routes there is a destruction of our property which might create a panic. That is inevitable, I think, at the outset. Let us be prepared for it, and let us realize that it has no bearing whatever on the ultimate course of the War. (Cheers.)

There is something else which I think it is important to say. We had a discussion yesterday about credit. That is the basis of a successful war, as it is of every branch of industry at this moment. I think the Government have taken the right course. I have followed it closely, and I know that they have been supported by those who best understand the situation. I think the danger is minimised as much as it can be. But, after all, the question of credit really depends

on what we believe is going to be the effect of this War upon our trade and our industry.

I hope the House will not think that I am too optimistic, but I do think there is a danger of our taking too gloomy a view of what the effects will be (hear, hear) and, by taking that gloomy view, helping to bring about the very state of things which we all desire to avert. Again I wish to guard myself against seeming to be too hopeful; but let us look at the effect as if we were examining a chess problem. If we keep the command of the sea, what is going to happen? It all depends on that. I admit that if that goes the position is gloomy indeed; but of that I have no fear. (Cheers.) If we keep the command of the sea what is going to happen? Five-sixths of our production is employed in the home trade. What goes abroad is very important, and, of course, if the population which supplies this one-sixth were thrown out of work that would react on the whole. But, after all, the total amount of our exports to all the European countries which are now at war is only a small part of our total exports. There is here no question of fiscal policy. We are far beyond that. It is a question of fact. Our total exports to all the countries which are now at war do not, in my belief—I have not looked into the figures—exceed our exports to India and Australia taken alone. Now, consider this, we shall have freedom of trade, if the command of the sea is maintained, with the colonies and with the whole of the American Continent, while, unfortunately for them, both our allies and our enemies will not be competing with us in these markets. Look at it as a problem. I think we have a right to believe, not that trade will be good, but that it will be much more nearly normal than is generally supposed. (Cheers.) I hope the House will not think that that is a useless thing to say at such a time. (Cheers.)

There is one thing more only I wish to say. This is the affair of the nation. Every one would desire to help. There will be a great deal of work to be done which cannot be done by the Government. I was glad the Prime Minister has already asked the co-operation of my right hon. friends the members for West Birmingham and the Strand. They gladly came. But I am sure I speak not for this bench but for the whole of our party when I say that the Government has only got to requisition any one of us and we will serve them and our country to the best of our ability. (Loud cheers.)

#### VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODEN, 1862

Educated at Winchester and Balliol College, Oxford. Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs 1892-95. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1905-16. Ambassador to the United States 1919.

#### BRITAIN'S JUSTIFICATION FOR DECLARING WAR, 1914

LAST week I stated that we were working for peace not only for this country, but to preserve the peace of Europe. To-day events move so rapidly that it is exceedingly difficult to state with technical accuracy the actual state of affairs, but it is clear that the peace of Europe cannot be preserved. Russia and Germany, at any rate, have declared war upon each other.

Before I proceed to state the position of His Majesty's Government, I would like to clear the ground so that, before I come to state to the House what our

attitude is with regard to the present crisis, the House may know exactly under what obligations the Government is, or the House can be said to be, in coming to a decision on the matter. First of all let me say, very shortly, that we have consistently worked with a single mind, with all the earnestness in our power, to preserve peace. The House may be satisfied on that point. We have always done it. During these last years, as far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, we would have no difficulty in proving that we have done so.

In the present crisis, it has not been possible to secure the peace of Europe ; because there has been little time, and there has been a disposition—at any rate in some quarters on which I will not dwell—to force things rapidly to an issue, at any rate, to the great risk of peace, and, as we now know, the result of that is that the policy of peace, as far as the Great Powers generally are concerned, is in danger. I do not want to dwell on that, and to comment on it, and to say where the blame seems to us to lie, which Powers were most in favour of peace, which were most disposed to risk or endanger peace, because I would like the House to approach this crisis in which we are now, from the point of view of British interests, British honour, and British obligations, free from all passion as to why peace has not been preserved. . . .

Well, the situation in the present crisis is not precisely the same as it was in the Morocco question. It has not originated with regard to Morocco. It has not originated as regards anything with which we had a special agreement with France ; it has not originated with anything which primarily concerned France. It has originated in a dispute between Austria and Servia. I can say this with the most absolute confidence—no Government and no country has less desire to be involved in war over a dispute with Austria and Servia than the Government and the country of France. They are involved in it because of their obligation of honour under a definite alliance with Russia. Well, it is only fair to say to the House that that obligation of honour cannot apply in the same way to us. We are not parties to the Franco-Russian Alliance. We do not even know the terms of that Alliance.

The French coasts are absolutely undefended. The French fleet is in the Mediterranean, and has for some years been concentrated there because of the feeling of confidence and friendship which has existed between the two countries. My own feeling is that if a foreign fleet engaged in a war which France had not sought, and in which she had not been the aggressor, came down the English Channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coasts of France, we could not stand aside and see this going on practically within sight of our eyes, with our arms folded, looking on dispassionately, doing nothing ! I believe that would be the feeling of this country. There are times when one feels that if these circumstances actually did arise, it would be a feeling which would spread with irresistible force throughout the land. . . .

Nobody can say that in the course of the next few weeks there is any particular trade route the keeping open of which may not be vital to this country. What will be our position then ? We have not kept a fleet in the Mediterranean which is equal to dealing alone with a combination of other fleets in the Mediterranean. It would be the very moment when we could not detach more ships to the Mediterranean, and we might have exposed this country from our negative attitude at the present moment to the most appalling risk. I say that from the point of view of British interests. We feel strongly that France was entitled to know—and to know at once !—whether or not in the event of attack upon her unprotected northern and western coasts she could depend upon British support. In that

emergency, and in these compelling circumstances, yesterday afternoon I gave to the French Ambassador the following statement :—

“ I am authorised to give an assurance that if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts or shipping, the British Fleet will give all the protection in its power. This assurance is, of course, subject to the policy of His Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament, and must not be taken as binding His Majesty's Government to take any action until the above contingency of action by the German fleet takes place.”

I read that to the House, not as a declaration of war on our part, not as entailing immediate aggressive action on our part, but as binding us to take aggressive action should that contingency arise. Things move very hurriedly from hour to hour. Fresh news comes in, and I cannot give this in any very formal way ; but I understand that the German Government would be prepared, if we would pledge ourselves to neutrality, to agree that its fleet would not attack the Northern coast of France. I have only heard that shortly before I came to the House, but it is far too narrow an engagement for us. And, Sir, there is the more serious consideration—becoming more serious every hour—there is the question of the neutrality of Belgium. . . .

It now appears from the news I have received to-day—which has come quite recently, and I am not yet quite sure how far it has reached me in an accurate form—that an ultimatum has been given to Belgium by Germany, the object of which was to offer Belgium friendly relations with Germany on condition that she would facilitate the passage of German troops through Belgium. Well, Sir, until one has these things absolutely definitely, up to the last moment, I do not wish to say all that one would say if one were in a position to give the House full, complete, and absolute information upon the point. We were sounded in the course of last week as to whether if a guarantee were given that, after the War, Belgian integrity would be preserved that would content us ? We replied that we could not bargain away whatever interests or obligations we had in Belgian neutrality. . . .

Diplomatic intervention took place last week on our part. What can diplomatic intervention do now ? We have great and vital interests in the independence—and integrity is the least part—of Belgium. If Belgium is compelled to submit to allow her neutrality to be violated, of course the situation is clear. Even if by agreement she admitted the violation of her neutrality, it is clear she could only do so under duress. The smaller States in that region of Europe ask but one thing. Their one desire is that they should be left alone and independent. The one thing they fear is, I think, not so much that their integrity but that their independence should be interfered with. If in this War which is before Europe the neutrality of one of those countries is violated, if the troops of one of the combatants violate its neutrality and no action be taken to resent it, at the end of the War, whatever the integrity may be, the independence will be gone. . . .

. . . It may be said, I suppose, that we might stand aside, husband our strength, and that whatever happened in the course of this War at the end of it intervene with effect to put things right, and to adjust them to our own point of view. If, in a crisis like this, we run away from those obligations of honour and interest as regards the Belgian Treaty, I doubt whether, whatever material force we might have at the end, it would be of very much value in face of the respect that we should have lost. . . .

... My object has been to explain the view of the Government, and to place before the House the issue and the choice. I do not for a moment conceal, after what I have said, and after the information, incomplete as it is, that I have given to the House with regard to Belgium, that we must be prepared, and we are prepared, for the consequences of having to use all the strength we have at any moment—we know not how soon—to defend ourselves and to take our part. We know, if the facts all be as I have stated them, though I have announced no intending aggressive action on our part, no final decision to resort to force at a moment's notice, until we know the whole of the case, that the use of it may be forced upon us. As far as the forces of the Crown are concerned, we are ready. I believe the Prime Minister and my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty have no doubt whatever that the readiness and the efficiency of those Forces were never at a higher mark than they are to-day, and never was there a time when confidence was more justified in the power of the Navy to protect our commerce and to protect our shores. The thought is with us always of the suffering and misery entailed from which no country in Europe will escape abstention, and from which no neutrality will save us. The amount of harm that can be done by an enemy ship to our trade is infinitesimal, compared with the amount of harm that must be done by the economic condition that is caused on the Continent.

The most awful responsibility is resting upon the Government in deciding what to advise the House of Commons to do. We have disclosed our mind to the House of Commons. We have disclosed the issue, the information which we have, and made clear to the House, I trust, that we are prepared to face that situation, and that should it develop, as probably it may develop, we will face it. We worked for peace up to the last moment, and beyond the last moment. How hard, how persistently, and how earnestly we strove for peace last week, the House will see from the papers that will be before it.

But that is over, as far as the peace of Europe is concerned. We are now face to face with a situation and all the consequences which it may yet have to unfold. We believe we shall have the support of the House at large in proceeding to whatever the consequences may be and whatever measures may be forced upon us by the development of facts or action taken by others. I believe the country, so quickly has the situation been forced upon it, has not had time to realise the issue. It perhaps is still thinking of the quarrel between Austria and Servia, and not the complications of this matter which have grown out of the quarrel between Austria and Servia. Russia and Germany we know are at war. We do not yet know officially that Austria, the ally whom Germany is to support, is yet at war with Russia. We know that a good deal has been happening on the French frontier. We do not know that the German Ambassador has left Paris.

The situation has developed so rapidly that technically, as regards the condition of the War, it is most difficult to describe what has actually happened. I wanted to bring out the underlying issues which would affect our own conduct, and our own policy, and to put them clearly. I have put the vital facts before the House, and if, as seems most improbable, we are forced, and rapidly forced, to take our stand upon those issues, then I believe, when the country realizes what is at stake, what the real issues are, the magnitude of the impending dangers in the West of Europe, which I have endeavoured to describe to the House, we shall be supported throughout, not only by the House of Commons, but by the determination, the resolution, the courage, and the endurance of the whole country.

## THE RIGHT HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, P.C., M.P., 1868

Born at Birmingham, he received his education at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. Civil Lord of the Admiralty 1895-1900; Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1900-2; Postmaster-General 1902-3; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1903-6; Secretary of State for India 1915-17; again Chancellor of the Exchequer 1918.

## INTRODUCING THE BUDGET, 1919

THE Debate on the Consolidated Fund Bill is always, and is almost of necessity, a rather discursive one, but as far as we have gone this afternoon there has been one main purpose in most of the speeches, namely, a desire to bring home to the House of Commons and the country the financial position, and make the Government realize the dangers of that position, and ask for some explanation as to their intentions in this matter.

My hon. and gallant friend who opened the discussion said he would leave questions of economy rather to others, but he raised a particular issue of vast importance to the whole country and vital to the credit and usefulness of this House. He said, and said truly, that there are people in this country, and I believe they are a very small minority, not merely of the people but of any class or section of the people, who have decided definitely to challenge parliamentary Government, and who are pursuing, in place of the old idea of democratic control through Parliament, narrow class control through direct action outside Parliament and in defiance of Parliament. That is treason against this House, in fact it is more, for it is treason against the country, and that way lies disaster and anarchy, and the Government will take whatever steps are required, and can be well employed to defend the power and authority of Parliament against such attacks, from whatever quarter they may come.

I turn to what is more immediately my personal business. My hon. friend, the Member for Barnsley (Sir J. Walton), adjured me to be frank. I hope he does not imply that I have ever been otherwise. At any rate, even the statements I have made on financial questions I have tried to make as clear, full, and truthful as it was in my power to make them at any given moment when I spoke. Circumstances vary from time to time, and my expectations may fail to be realized. They may be affected by circumstances beyond our control or by measures within our control, it is true, but which we do not foresee, and yet they are necessary to take. The situation is one of gravity. I do not think that any good is done by exaggerating. It is as bad to be unduly pessimistic as it is to be unduly optimistic, but the situation is sufficiently difficult to need the good will and the active assistance of every class in the community.

If we were to continue to spend at the rate we are spending now, it would lead us straight to national bankruptcy, and there is no doubt whatever about it, if we cannot increase production beyond what we are producing now we shall go to national bankruptcy. Neither of these things alone, that is reducing expenditure without increasing production, or increasing production without reducing expenditure, will be sufficient to save the situation, and we have to do both if we are to get through the few difficult years that lie before us before Europe can be said to have even turned the corner, not to have recovered, after the

ravages and desolation of four and a half years of war. Let me say, and I had intended if it were possible to take this opportunity to say it, that the Budget position, the balance between expenditure and revenue for the year is less favourable this year than it was when I made my Budget statement. It is distinctly and seriously less favourable, and both sides of the account are failing to realize my expectations. If you like to say I shall prove a false prophet you may put it that way; but the important thing for the House and the country to understand is that the forecast I made to the country in my Budget statement is not being realized.

I will give the House one or two reasons. In the first place, the Peace negotiations took a longer time than we had anticipated. Demobilisation everywhere was delayed, and the military and naval expenditure are therefore greater than I anticipated. Not only so, but there is the disturbance of Europe to be taken into account. War was supposed to be concluded by the signature of the Armistice, but Members are continually talking of what is happening after so many months of peace. It is not peace. Active operations in Germany have terminated, but Europe is not at peace, let alone Asia, the actual war expenditure is continuing with all its consequences, both in calling for the retention of a greater number of men with the Colours and with the Fleet and with the concurrent expenditure which active service operations always bring. That is not all. The House knows that one after another large new blocks of expenditure have been sanctioned.

I may tell the House equally bluntly that my anticipations in regard to receipts are not being realized now. I am not referring to receipts from taxation. I have no reason to suppose at present that these will not be realized, but it is too early in the year to revise the Budget estimate in that respect. Something, however, depends on the course of our industrial life. Great labour troubles may wreck our hopes and seriously impair the yield of taxation. But at present I see no reason for anxiety there. I calculated that, just as this year there was a great deal of abnormal temporary expenditure to be met of a non-recurrent kind, so there would be great abnormal temporary receipts to be set against it. Some of my hon. friends think I was wrong to use those receipts in that way, but that is part of the Budget statement. I do not want to turn aside to justify the practice now. My short answer is that if expenditure and revenue balance, the right process would be to use these receipts for the reduction of debt. But under present circumstances I cannot reduce debt, and I use them, therefore, to lessen the amount I have to borrow. There again my expectations are not being in all respects realized.

Hon. Members will, I hope, not grudge me the time I occupy in making this statement. I thought it was right to take the opportunity. I wanted the opportunity to inform the House to-night that my Budget Estimate will not be realized, and that the situation is worse than I foresaw in respect of the present year. The House will remember that I spoke of the Budget of this year as abnormal—quite abnormal expenditure and quite abnormal receipts, and I said that next year could not be normal. I do not think it can be. If next year you can balance your Budget, setting the abnormal receipts against the abnormal expenditure, I think you will have done well. That is what we ought to aim at. But it cannot be a normal year; some future year must be the normal year. I know that my Budget Estimate for this year will not be realized. I am beginning to wonder whether next year you can balance the expenditure, abnormal and normal, against the receipts abnormal and normal, without new taxation. It is too early to speak



with confidence on that. But it will not unless we all of us exercise a wise economy, and not unless we find it within our power, as it must be within our will, to make drastic reductions.

I beg the House to ask themselves when new expenditure is proposed, as I ask myself, and as I put it to my colleagues, not merely, "Is this thing in itself desirable?" but "Is this thing so necessary to our safety or to justice, or to that which we owe to people to whom we have great obligations—is this thing so necessary that in spite of the urgent need not to increase expenditure, but to reduce it, we must yet incur a new burden."

Our minds are resolutely set on securing the economy and the reduction of expenditure that is obviously necessary. We have been at work upon this subject. We shall be continuously at work upon it. Some references were made to the Prime Minister. Let me say that no man feels it more strongly than the Prime Minister, and, whatever be his other qualities, he has it in him to make a strong force and to have him on our side is a great strength in matters of finance. Not only the Prime Minister, but the whole Government is seized with the seriousness of the position and is setting its mind equally seriously to work to find a remedy, which is essential.

As regards exchange, my hon. friend asked me what I proposed to do to rectify the exchange.

There are only two ways of assisting the exchange and they must be worked together. The first is to reduce your imports by not ordering articles of luxury and articles which are unnecessary from abroad, and by confining your purchase, to where the exchanges are adverse, and even elsewhere—because they all react—confining your purchases made abroad to the things which are really necessary and foregoing the things you can do without. The second thing is to increase your exports. That comes back again, at bottom, to increasing your production and to reducing the cost, so that you may get a ready entry into good markets. Bear in mind that it is a profoundly difficult problem at the present moment. There are very few countries in Europe which are in a position to pay for what they would normally take. They are urgently in need of all sorts of things. There is hardly a week passes that I am not asked to lend money to somebody in order that he may buy our goods. The borrower intends to repay. I have no doubt he will be in a position to repay some day; but in the meantime that does not help my problem. It does not help me to rectify the exchange. The only way you can do that is by selling in the markets which can pay. That is the problem. During the War it was thought necessary, and if I may be permitted to offer an opinion I would say it was necessary, to peg certain of the exchanges—the most important one to us was the American exchange—that is to say, by artificial means we maintained the exchanges at a certain level, when, owing to natural causes, they would have fallen below the level. That is not a process with which you can go on for ever. It is very costly. The time came when I thought I had to withdraw the peg. I think my action commended itself to those competent to judge and to this House. I am quite sure it would be fatal to try to put the peg back. That would be retrograde, and the adverse exchange, rightly understood, is not a thing which you could deal with by any artificial measures even temporarily, as we did during the War under great pressure. You cannot do that permanently. It is a danger signal which shows that the traffic in and out is not working properly, that the traffic in is too heavy and the traffic out is too small. Above all that, the traffic out is too small. You could only rectify those exchanges by increased production and increased exports, and, unless

we succeed in doing that quickly, everyone from the richest to the poorest is going to have a very bad time.

Then my hon. friend asked me about the currency issue. I have watched the currency issue with some care and attention. I regret to say that in the last week there has been a considerable increase, and I do not think a considerable increase of currency at this time ought to pass without any notice from me. My hon. friend said we had only a reserve of £28,500,000 against currency notes. I have earmarked another £250,000 of Bank of England notes for currency reserve in consequence of the rise which has taken place this week. I think that is a step which will commend itself to my hon. friend. There are certain features of the situation which I have steadily in view. One is the currency note issue, another is the ways and means advances—borrowing from the Bank of England.

I have given the House the latest information I can on the financial situation. The Government are giving serious and anxious attention to the financial position which I have stated to the House. They are determined not merely that reckless waste shall be stopped wherever it occurs, but that rigorous economy shall be exercised. They have made up their minds that expenditure must come down, and they are devoting themselves to the measures which will bring that result about. One question I have left unanswered. The hon. and gallant gentleman (Col. Lambert Ward) said there was prevalent the fear lest the Government, in view of the gravity of the financial situation, should resort to the course of nationalising everything in the hope that they could get a better revenue. That is the last course which would ever enter my mind. The hon. and gallant gentleman need be under no apprehension that we shall rush into experimental and hazardous courses as a financial speculation in the hope that so we may get out of the difficulty. The gravity and difficulty of the situation is an argument against taking new liabilities of a doubtful and speculative kind, and the liabilities we have already, the onerous obligations which are assumed by Bills which this House has passed—the Housing Bill, the Land Settlement Bill, the Ways and Communications Bill—are surely enough to digest, and we must be content with them until they have been thoroughly digested.

I have tried to put the situation fairly to the House as I see it now. It is worse than it was when I spoke on the Budget. It is worse temporarily and to some extent permanently, because if the deficit for the year is greater than I had anticipated, then the debt at the end of the year is greater, and we are left with that continuing into future years. But the circumstances which have made it worse are partly permanent in that we have found it necessary to incur such matters as pensions, the pay of the Army and Navy, the pay of the police, and the bonus to civil servants, much of which expenditure at any rate will continue for a long time. But there is nothing in the situation which is beyond our power to deal with as a nation if we will tackle it as a nation, with the same resolution, the same public spirit, and the same unity as that with which we faced the difficulties of war. The difficulties of reconstruction are not less than the difficulties of war. If we had not been parties to the War, and had had no burden of our own to bear and no loss to make good, the condition of Europe outside the British Isles must have profoundly affected the whole trade of our country—the whole position. With a Europe which is desolated, where the means of industry and production have in many cases been destroyed, where capital is absent, raw materials are unobtainable and food insufficient—with a Europe like that you have the United Kingdom spared all this suffering but still faced with the prodigious

upheaval that the War brought, with the prodigious burden that it leaves, and with the new problems that it has created. If we face this difficulty not as a united nation, not as citizens of a common country, but as sections and classes, eagerly seeking a selfish or a particular interest, we shall deserve our fate. If we face it as patriotic citizens, with courage and resolution, if everyone gets to work in his own sphere as hard and as quickly as he can, we shall save the situation.

### EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, 1859

Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he was Under-Secretary of State for India 1891-2 ; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1895-8 ; Lord Privy Seal 1915-16 ; President of the Air Board 1916 ; has travelled extensively and was President of the Royal Geographical Society 1911-1914.

I MUST ask the indulgence of your lordships if, owing to an indisposition from which I have barely recovered, I am unable to-day to do justice to the great theme which has been placed in my hands : The motion which I have the honour to move is one conveying the thanks of this House of Parliament to the brave men in every branch of the Service, to whose valour, fortitude, and devotion we owe it that we have won the greatest victory that has ever been recorded in the annals of the British nation.

The records of Parliament show that it has been for a long time past—I think for centuries past—the custom of both Houses of Parliament in the concluding stages of a great national struggle to offer a vote of congratulation and thanks to those brave men who upheld the honour, maintained the welfare, and added to the glory of the nation. This is a time-honoured but it is also a praiseworthy practice ; for, although we are essentially a peace-loving people, and although, assuredly we did nothing either by policy or by action to provoke this particular War, yet when the lists are arrayed it is upon the valour of our soldiers and sailors, upon the skill of the generals and admirals who lead them, far more than upon any diplomacy of statesmen that we rely. (Cheers.) Hence it is that, on these occasions, the thanks of Parliament are given exclusively to those who have risked so much, who have in the majority of cases risked, and, in many cases, laid down, their lives, and to whose courage and genius we owe it that the victory which we celebrate has been won. No one would wish to have it otherwise. If we are wrong in hoping that this will be the end of all wars—all great wars—and if another war should—let us hope not in our lifetime—break out in Europe, I doubt not that the same custom will be followed at its close. If, on the other hand, we succeed in abolishing war and no such occasion arises, then a time will come when the thanks of the House will be given to members of the League of Nations who by their action may possibly have prevented a recurrence of such a catastrophe.

I think that this form of tribute, which represents the organized sentiment of the nation, is more valued by its recipients than the loudest acclamations from the populace or the highest honours which the Crown can bestow. I believe they would sooner have it than the grants of money or than the coronets which are in some cases about to adorn their brows.

This has been no ordinary war ; it is not a war on which oblivion will presently lay its chilly hand or which will speedily pass into the limbo of the forgotten,

to be explored only by the military student, or to be annotated by the historian of the future. It has not been a war between two countries or two peoples, but a war in which all sections and countries and peoples have been engaged. A larger number of men have been under arms in this War than in any of the accumulated wars of the past century. I hesitate to estimate the number of men directly or indirectly engaged in fighting this War, but perhaps we may form some dim estimate of it if I say what I believe to be true, that in the course of it something like twenty millions of human beings from different parts of the world have laid down their lives.

Again, the War has been famous for the revolution it has introduced in the science and practice of warfare, for the development we have seen in the art of assault and defence, and the new principles of strategy and tactics evolved in the instruments and agencies of war, in the fearful devastation wrought and inconceivable destruction which the armies have left behind. It is the first great war fought both in the air and under the sea, and I cannot help thinking that when history records its impartial verdict on these things it will also say that it was a war renowned for the inconceivable savagery of one of the combatants, who had not even the excuse of mediæval barbarism, because it claimed to be the finest creature of Providence, the finest product of cultured civilization, and predestined to be the master of the world. All these aspects of the War seem to throw into startling relief and invest with exceptional lustre the services of those who fought and won it. If we look at the War for a moment from the way it affected ourselves in this country, I think we may claim that it is equally unprecedented and equally remarkable. It is the first war in our history that has been waged, not by the professional soldiers appointed for the purpose, but by the whole nation (cheers)—not by one class or one community, or section of class or community, but every trade and occupation in the country has been involved. Men, women, and even boys, who were running away from their school and universities—some falsifying their ages in order not to be missing from the ranks when the great trial came—were all equally convinced of the righteousness of our cause.

If I turn to the services of the Navy, it is, I am sure, unnecessary to recall in any detail the great deeds or the surpassing services rendered in this War by the Navy and mercantile marine. Some people have challenged the statement made so often that the "British Navy won the War." Surely no one can dispute the proposition that without the British Navy the War could not possibly have been won. (Cheers.)

After alluding to the services of the Navy, Earl Curzon referred to the work of the mercantile marine and the deeds of the Army. He continued: Six of the generals who were engaged in this great struggle are about to join your lordships' House. You will welcome them here. (Cheers.) Another, outside the six—Lord French—is already here. His was the Army of the "Old Contemptibles"; his was the glory of the Marne, and of Ypres; his was a splendour that can never fade. Soon we shall have on these benches his successor, Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, a model of what a British commander should be, a man devoted to his profession, never thinking of himself, with a mind open to the broadest conceptions as well as to the narrowest details of war, always equable, courteous, resolute, and calm. No commander ever so well typified the qualities of the soldiers he led and no commander in this War could conceivably have worked with such loyalty with the great Field-Marshal who was above him. (Cheers.)

There is one paragraph in the motion relating to the services of the Dominions and of India. It is not the first time that the Indian Armies have come to our

aid. For half a century at least they have been fighting our battles in almost every portion of the Asiatic and African continents. We recollect, too, how the forces of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia came to our aid in South Africa and on the Nile; but never before have we seen these countries converted into great armed camps, treating the struggle as one which affected their own existence and their own homes. The deeds which the Dominion troops wrought in France, in Gallipoli, and in many other places are already a national epic which will be enshrined in the glories of our race. (Cheers.) The million men who came from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa meant much more than the numerical strength of that figure; they were a moral asset which it was impossible to estimate or to over-estimate, and which left an indelible impression on the conscience of the world. I may say the same of India. It cannot be said that she did not prove her loyalty. The Indian troops arrived in France almost in the nick of time, and without them some of our greatest victories would not have been won. Neither ought we to forget the services of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates; and where they could not find troops for fighting they found carriers and labour battalions for the front. (Hear, hear.) Gallant services were rendered by men from the four quarters of the globe, who voyaged to this country to offer their services and their lives. (Hear, hear.) Among those whom this House will be asked to honour with a money grant is General Trenchard. He is the embodiment of that fighting force and spirit which he led at different times at home and in the field. We had one hundred machines at the outset. But how that branch of our service has grown! We now possess thousands of machines and thousands of trained men, and they have played a very important part in this War. (Cheers.) Doctors, surgeons, and women nurses have all passed through the horrors of war, and by their labours in the face of danger on the battlefield have earned the highest praise. (Cheers.) There were those who fell in the War. There are 15 members of this House who went out and never returned, and 150 sons of yours have given their lives for their country. This loss is typical of that endured by every class of the community. There is scarcely a village or hamlet that does not mourn a loss, and of them it may truly be said they died on the field of honour, but live for ever in the fields of fame. The thanks to Marshal Foch are unprecedented. He was swift in action and decision, and he is one of the great captains of history. (Cheers.) No one ever heard Marshal Foch utter a superfluous word. He was one who always believed in the British Army. (Cheers.) When the history of the war comes to be written the verdict will be that Marshal Foch, the latest addition to Field-M Marshals of the British Army, is a great commander and a gallant gentleman. (Cheers.) We have fought alongside great and noble nations, and in inscribing this resolution unanimously we shall be associating ourselves with some of the greatest achievements, not only of the British Army, but of the human race. (Cheers.)

THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD HENRY CARSON, 1854

Born in County Galway, he was educated at Portarlington School and Trinity College, Dublin. He is one of the most brilliant advocates at the bar, was Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1892; Solicitor-General 1900-06; Attorney-General in 1915; First Lord of the Admiralty in 1917; he is an indomitable opponent of the idea of Home Rule for Ireland.

DEMANDING REPEAL OF HOME RULE ACT

THIS is the greatest Twelfth of July that I ever remember. It is the greatest for many reasons. We make these celebrations annually because at the battle of the Boyne there was a great historic occasion upon which there was a landmark fixed for ever of human liberty and the progress of civilization. (Hear, hear.) But to-day, Worshipful Master, we add to that another great landmark in the progress of civilization and in the maintenance of liberty in the great Peace which has just been concluded, and to which our own dear old Ulster has contributed so much.

To-day, moreover, we welcome back, unfortunately far too few, of our own brave men who were in arms before ever there was a war (hear, hear) to preserve their freedom (cheers) and who, when the War broke out, so willingly waged the greater war of the world's freedom. (Cheers.) Worshipful Master, we thank God they are with us to-day.

But, sir, we know there are many gaps. We know that there are many men who marched on the 12th of July—I was with them myself in 1914—who now lie in their last resting-place in France. We shall never forget them. Take off your hats; think of them for a few seconds. (All heads were spontaneously bared in response.) After a few seconds' reverent and impressive silence, Sir Edward proceeded: And may what they have done be an example to you and to me, and to those who come after us, through all time, and an example that will demonstrate to the world that, in the cause of freedom, Ulstermen will always be to the fore, and Ulstermen, in the words of the King, know how to fight and know how to die. Ulstermen never, under the help of God, will be conquered by a foreign or by a domestic foe.

Worshipful Master, the resolution I have to propose—that we demand the repeal of the Home Rule Act—is a very easy one to move. That old Act was still-born. (Laughter and cheers.) It was put upon the Statute Book, it was born, it died, and it was buried upon the same day (laughter) and I will tell you who buried it—the Ulster Volunteers. (Loud cheers.) Yes, and in proposing this resolution, all we are asking is that the putrid remains may be taken away so that their disgusting effects may be obliterated from the sight and scent of men. (Laughter and cheers.)

Worshipful Master, we always told the Government perfectly honestly that we would not have it, and we won't. (Cheers and cries of "Never.") We always told the Government that the Home Rule Bill was only a lever and a half-way house giving time for the Nationalist Party to have a drink, until they went on the road to complete separation and to the demand of an Irish Republic.

And now there are only two policies before the country—one is the maintenance of the Union and loyalty to the King, and the other is (God bless the mark!) an Irish Republic. An Irish Republic, with your hats off to the President, Mr. De Valera (laughter) who is now working against you in America, with the help

of the Catholic hierarchy in that country, backed up by the Catholic hierarchy in this and all other countries, and who imagines, in his vanity, that one day or the other he is going to march through Belfast and Ulster (cries of "Never!") and you will all willingly take off your hats ("No!") and bow the knee to the head of the organization, which in the darkest hour of the War of the world's freedom shot his Majesty's soldiers in the streets of Dublin. I invite Mr. De Valera to come to Ulster, and I understand he will get a proper Ulster welcome. (Laughter and cheers.) An Irish Republic! What is the good of the British Empire as compared with an Irish Republic! Just imagine how small the British Empire will look when the Irish Republic is established, and just imagine how the British Navy will bow their heads in shame when they see two canal boats with the Irish Sinn Féin flag (laughter) and Admiral Devlin (laughter) bringing them into action at Scapa Flow.

Yes, sir, but there is more than that. I talk of the men who are sleeping their last sleep on the plains of Flanders and France, in Mesopotamia, in Palestine, in the Balkans, and elsewhere—the men who have done their share, not for the Irish Republic, but for the great British Empire; and, forsooth, the reward we are to have is that we are to give up all that they have won, and we are to be false and untrue to all that they suffered in order that these rebels, prompted by ambitions of trampling upon the Protestants of the North of Ireland, may have a dot upon the map which might be represented by a pin-prick.

That may seem to you and to me very ridiculous, but don't let us under-estimate those that are working against us. Don't let us merely talk. Let us be prepared for all and every emergency. I tell the British people this from this platform here in your presence to-day—and I say it now with all solemnity—I tell them that if there is any attempt made to take away one jot or tittle of your rights as British citizens and the advantages which have been won in this War of freedom, I tell them at all consequences once more I will call out the Ulster Volunteers. (Cheers.)

And I will call upon these men to preserve alive the memory of the sacrifices of those who at the country's call went out and gave their lives in the service of their King and country. (Cheers.)

No, sir, I am not so very much afraid of the Irish Republic. (Laughter.) It sounds very grand, and it sounds all the grander because Mr. De Valera is floating a loan at the present time in the United States. I do not know what interest he is paying, but, as he says he has established his Parliament here already and his Government, I should have thought the easiest way for him would have been at once to proceed to tax his subjects. Let him put an income tax for the Irish Republic on his subjects in the South and West of Ireland, and go round and collect it from the farmers and the labourers who follow him. Then he will be up against the real thing. (Laughter.)

I have had a great number of letters from various sources, particularly may I say Press sources, saying they hoped I would make an emphatic and clear declaration as to my views as regards Dominion Home Rule when I came to Belfast upon 12th July. Well, I am going to do that. I never camouflage anything. (Hear, hear.) I call an Ulsterman an Ulsterman (laughter); I call a Sinn Féiner a rebel; I call Dominion Home Rule the camouflage of an Irish Republic, and I tell them here to-day in your presence that I send this message to all whom it may concern, as we say in the law, that we will have nothing to do with Dominion Home Rule or any other Home Rule; they may call it what they like. They may give it any specious name they like, but we know what the reality is. We avoid it as a thing unclean; we spurn it; we fling it back at them. (Applause.)

We tell them it has nothing to do with us, or our people, or our conditions. We tell them that we are loyal men—that the Government and the Constitution, and the British Empire are good enough for us; and we tell them that the man who tries to knock a brick out of that sound and solid foundation, if he comes to Ulster, will know what the real feeling of Ulstermen and Ulsterwomen is.

I have often said that we make the smallest claim of any people in the whole of the many hundreds of millions of the British Empire. It can be put in the smallest compass. We claim one thing, and one thing only, but we never get it, and that is, to be left alone. (Applause.) It is not much, but it would mean a great deal to us. We want to set about our business; we want to set about it without threats—without possibilities of interference.

We have a great deal to build up in devastated homes. We have a great deal to look after in seeing that the conditions of our people are improved. And the one thing we say to the British Government is this:—"For God's sake cease threatening us! For God's sake, recognize that we are one with you! For God's sake, admit that we have done our share and our duty in the War. Treat us as good citizens. Keep us as such. And, if you won't do that, we tell you that your efforts will be in vain, for no flag will ever fly over the people of Ulster but the old Union Jack (loud cheers) which we have helped to haul up all over the whole world, and which, with the help of God, we will never allow to be hauled down again." (Cheers.)

I, as your leader, as long as you will have me (cheers and cries of "Always"), and when you don't want me I will gladly join the ranks and follow anybody you select. (Smiles and cheers.) I will keep my Covenant to the day of my death. (Cheers.) And I know every Ulsterman will do the same. (Cries of "We will," and cheering.) But let me warn you, let me tell you that there are forces working against us—forces of a very vast character.

There is a campaign going on in America at the present moment, fostered by the Catholic Church there, with great funds at their disposal, which will be soon joined by the Germans and their funds, in order to create a great anti-British feeling.

Make no mistake about it. There are many honest men in England and in Scotland who keep saying this to me. "Surely something must be done for fear we will lose the goodwill of America." . . . Heaven knows I want good feeling between America and this country. I believe that the whole future of the world probably depends upon the relations between the United States and ourselves. (Hear, hear.) But I am not going to submit to this kind of campaign, whether for that friendship or for any other purpose. I to-day seriously say to America, "You attend to your own affairs and we will attend to ours." (Cheers.)

You look after your own questions at home and we will look after ours. We will not brook interference in our own affairs by any country, however powerful. It was not for that that we waged the great War of independence which has just concluded. . . .

I want to know whether you prefer the Union and the King or Horace Plunkett and his last League. (Cries of "The Union.") I don't mind this gentleman. I don't mind him having any opinions he likes if he has them. (Laughter.) But I will tell you what I do mind. I do mind that gentleman who has boxed the compass of political profligacy walking in and out of the Carlton Club spying upon those who are real Unionists. He ought to go elsewhere. (A voice, "Throw him out.") He ought to go and join the Sinn Feiners. (Hear, hear.) Those are his ideal colours for the moment. (Laughter and applause.) . . .



But there are people who actually say : " Oh, Ulster is perfectly contented at the present moment. There is nothing going on in Ulster. She is very quiet. We don't hear any of the noise we used to hear before." Thank God we don't. We threw in our lot with the rest of the Empire for the War, and we buried our own private and local concerns ; but I warn them that the day that they proceed to raise the old controversies we will raise the old opposition. (Cheers.) Aye, and ten times more, because we know now more than ever we did of the machinations and the manoeuvres of our enemies. We do not forget that in the hour of the Empire's danger, when we wanted to go hand in hand with the British democracy in having conscription—a matter that was reserved under this old Home Rule Act for the Imperial Government—we don't forget that it was the Catholic hierarchy of this country who claimed, in the teeth of the Act of Parliament, to say " You may pass your Act, but we are a power greater than the Imperial Parliament, and we won't let our men go." We don't forget that. (Cheers.) That was one of the safeguards, mark you, given us by the Home Rule Act.

I move that the Government be asked to repeal this Home Rule Act. I remember the fraud by which it was put on the Statute Book. The War was going on and we did nothing, but I gave you this pledge in the Ulster Hall, and I repeat it now once more, that if they attempt to revive it, or to put it into force, I will once more summon the Provisional Government, and I will move that we repeal the Home Rule Bill if nobody else does. (Cheers.)

I will have behind me every loyal man, and what I prize quite as much, every loyal man in Ulster. I believe that when we appeal to the great British constituencies, when he knows the part we have taken in the War, whatever the Government may be, they will be with us to a man. (Applause.) We tell them as we have told them before " we will not have Home Rule." God bless Ulster. God save the King. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

### THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL, P.C., 1874

Was educated at Harrow and Sandhurst. Acted as newspaper correspondent throughout the South African War, when he was taken prisoner, and later escaped. Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies 1906-8 ; President of the Board of Trade 1908-10 ; Home Secretary 1910-11 ; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1911-15 ; Minister of Munitions 1917 ; Secretary of State for War and Air 1918 ; has written several books dealing with the military campaigns in which he has taken part. Mr. Winston Churchill ranks high as an orator.

### REVIEWING MILITARY POSITION, 1919

THERE have been exceptional difficulties in framing the Army Estimates of this year. We are half way between peace and war. Almost every factor with which we have to deal is uncertain and fluctuating. We cannot forecast the exact rate at which demobilization will be completed. We do not yet know what arrangements affecting armaments will be embodied in the Treaty of Peace. We cannot tell how many men we shall have to keep in the Middle East and on the Rhine, or for how long they will have to be kept there. We cannot be sure what the attitude and the conduct of the Germans will be, whether they will accept our conditions, whether they will resist them actively or passively, whether they will agree to them and endeavour to evade them, whether they will refuse them and throw responsibility for the future upon us, or whether they will simply degenerate into ruin. We cannot tell. The greater part of Europe and the greater part of Asia are plunged in varying degrees of disorder and anarchy. Vast areas in both these

continents inhabited by immense and once thriving populations are convulsed by hunger, bankruptcy, and revolution. The victorious Allies, on whom there rests the responsibility for enabling the world to get to work again, are themselves exhausted in a very serious degree, and all these elements of difficulty and uncertainty vitiate or threaten to vitiate our calculations. At every point must be added the enormous tangle of winding up the war effort and adjusting with as little waste as possible the complications of war-time finance.

The Estimates of this year are made by events; the Estimates of next year will, I hope, be made by policy. Events must govern us now. The soldiers exist in millions on our pay-roll and on our rations strength. They are scattered all over the world. They are moving from place to place. Large numbers are still in hospital, large numbers are still required on the front. Those factors this year govern the expenditure, but next year, if all is well, Parliament should once again be able to resume the general control of our Army finance. With the passing of war and the disorder which war carries in every sphere of Government and of private life, finance will once more become the limiting factor. Every scheme for our future Army and for our future Air Force must be decided by what it will cost and by the relation of its total cost to the resulting war power. Over and over again nations have won wars and then declined through the disorder of their finances. Good finance is the golden key to national prosperity, and I can assure the House that I shall do my utmost to secure substantial reductions in military forces, for without those reductions good finance is impossible.

I hope that within a few months the convulsion of demobilization will be at an end, and that we shall possess strong, compact, well-disciplined armies of moderate but still adequate size which will enable us to guard the interests of the State and the safety of the country, and to secure to us the fruits we have won in the War.

With the conclusion of final peace, what will be needed by the European Powers will be not so much large armies as loyal armies, and we shall look forward to considerable reductions taking place in the great military establishments of the Continent of Europe. Our British regular establishment before the War was, however, of most moderate, and even meagre dimensions. However far the process of disarmament may be pressed, it seems very unlikely that, having regard to our responsibilities, we shall ever fall, or ought ever to fall, to the slender scale of 1914. We do not know what other Powers are going to do, or what will be the military system in force in France, the United States, Italy or Japan. Nobody knows what is going to happen to Germany, Austria or Russia, or how long the world will be kept in a state of great disorder and anxiety. On every ground, therefore, it will be better to defer the final decision upon our army system until after the War—until some, at least, of the cardinal facts, on which everything turns, are more clearly apparent than they are just now.

There is another matter which calls for very prompt settlement. It is the last to which I shall refer before I sit down. I mean the speedy enforcing of the Peace Terms upon Germany. At the present moment we are bringing everything to a head with Germany. We are holding all our means of coercion in full operation or in immediate readiness for use. We are enforcing the blockade with rigour. We have strong armies ready to advance at the shortest notice. Germany is very near starvation. All the evidence I have received from officers sent by the War Office all over Germany shows, first of all, the great privations which the German people are suffering, and, secondly, the danger of a collapse of the entire structure of German social and national life under the pressure of hunger and malnutrition. Now is, therefore, the moment to settle. To delay indefinitely

would be to run a grave risk of having nobody with whom to settle, and of having another great area of the world sink into Bolshevik anarchy. That would be a very grave event. I dare say hon. members recall the sinking of the *Titanic*. The state of Europe seems to me to have many points of sinister comparison with that event. That great vessel had compartment after compartment invaded by the sea. She remained almost motionless upon the water as each new bulkhead filled, or each new compartment flooded. She gradually took a more pronounced list. Finally, when the decisive compartments which regulated the flotation of the ship filled, the whole brilliant structure of science and civilization foundered in the ocean, leaving all those on board, friend or foe, rich or poor, passengers or stokers, people of both sexes and of every age, swimming in the icy waters of the sea, with no help in sight, and no prospect of help.

We must never forget that the ship of Europe carries with it all the glories and advantages which we have gained by the prodigies achieved by our soldiers in this War, and it is, therefore, very important to us to bring it safely to land, so that its previous injuries may be repaired. Now is the time for action. Once Germany has accepted the terms to be imposed upon her—and until that moment all our forces must be held in the strongest condition of readiness—the re-victualling of that country and the supplying of it with the necessary raw material can be begun and pushed forward with energy. It is repugnant to the British nation to use this weapon of starvation, which falls mainly upon the women and children, upon the old, the weak, and the poor, after all the fighting has stopped—one moment longer than is necessary to secure the just terms for which we have fought. A good army is a far better weapon at the present time in which to exert pressure than any other that could be in your hands. After Germany has agreed to our terms, it will not be possible immediately to withdraw our armies. It is not enough that she should sign a peace—we have to make sure that she will carry out her undertaking. The only manly way of doing this is by keeping for the time being, in conjunction with our Allies, a strong force on the Rhine. Armed with this power we shall be able to secure the fulfilment of the Treaty, and at the same time be able, probably, without being forced to move from our situation, to make Germany act rightly towards those new States which have come into existence on her Eastern border, and whose continued prosperity and development into strong forces, and into strong bulwarks, is such an important factor in the treatment of the whole European problem. Without this power we have no means whatever of influencing or guiding the course of events in Europe except by starving everybody into Bolshevism—and I should like to know what would be the sense of that. I therefore appeal to the House to support the Government in maintaining a strong army on the Rhine until we see much more clearly than we do now how things will go. I am sure the Committee will be well advised to take this course, and, having taken it, to pursue it with perseverance and without impatience. In that way only shall we be able to do our duty and to win the respect which is our due. There are two maxims which should always be acted upon in the hour of victory. All history, all experience, all the fruits of reasoning alike enjoin them upon us. They are almost truisms. They are so obvious that I hardly dare to mention them to the House. But here they are. The first is :

Do not be carried away by success into demanding or taking more than is right or prudent.

The second is :

Do not disband your army until you have got your terms.

The finest combination in the world is power and mercy. The worst combination in the world is weakness and strife. There are some men who write and speak as if all we had to do at this critical and perilous juncture was to set our demands at the maximum that appetite can suggest and to reduce our armed power to the minimum that parsimony or impatience can dictate. The Government take exactly the contrary view on both points. We plead earnestly with the Committee for the maintenance in these times of trouble of a strong armed power, to be used with sober and far-sighted moderation in the common good. Believe me, it is far the cheapest, far the safest, and far the surest way to preserve for long and splendid years the position which our country has attained.

**THE RIGHT HON. HERBERT ALBERT LAURENS FISHER, 1865**

Born in London and educated at Winchester, New College, Oxford, Paris, and Gottingen.  
President of the Board of Education since 1916.

**A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION**

THE House readily appreciates that it is not my intention to disturb the denominational balance, or to revolutionize our local system of educational administration. Upon the whole, I think I have carried the House with me in my resolve to avoid, as far as it is possible to do so, those sources of controversy which otherwise might prove so injurious to the fortunes of the Bill. The continuation proposals are only one part of the Bill, and I should like to emphasize one feature of the Bill to which the attention of the House has not been drawn hitherto, but which is in fact the cardinal principle of the Bill, and the connecting link which unites its several portions. I refer to the view taken in the Bill, and prescribed to the local education authority, that all forms of education, whether they be elementary, secondary, or technical, should be considered as part of a single whole and that the larger local education authorities—the county councils and county boroughs—should be called upon to frame schemes for the development and organization, not only of elementary education, but of all those other forms of education to which the elementary school is the prelude. That is an important principle. It is a principle vital to the success of a national scheme of education, and its recognition is as valuable to the improvement of elementary education as it is to the development of further education of every kind. The Bill, in other words, constitutes an attempt to give to our national system of education as much unity and coherence as is compatible with the preservation of our local system of administration and of our great educational foundations which owe their origin to private enterprise and private benevolence. We cannot, of course, discard our local system of education, nor would it be desirable to do so. It would be foolish to refuse to recognize that some of the best educational work done in this country is performed by our ancient public schools and by our ancient universities, which derive no grant from the State and which have no connection with Whitehall.

Although our system must be composite it need not therefore be incoherent. It is possible to encourage local enterprise while taking full security against local inertia. It is possible to work the department of the State with the local education authorities so as to provide the greatest possible equality of opportunity between area and area. It is possible to adjust the proportion of burden between the State and the local education authority in such a way as to combine adequate methods of economy on the one hand with adequate incentives to wise expenditure

on the other. I venture to think that in the sphere of elementary education the generous grants recently made by Parliament will have the effect of achieving these particular objects. But we must remember that our secondary education stands altogether on a different footing. It stands on a more precarious footing. Indeed the country has no security at all so far that higher education will be provided save the security provided by the whisky money. The country has no security for an adequate provision of post elementary education in any area. There is a want of co-ordination between the local education authorities themselves, between the local and central authorities, and between different branches and grades of education. All these defects the Bill seeks to remedy. . . .

There is another prospect opened out by the Bill. Our elementary school is still subject to grave disabilities. The work of the higher standard is disorganized by exemptions, and one of the great obstacles to the improvement of the education in the upper standard of our elementary schools consists in the fact that so many children are withdrawn from school at an early age. So long as the half-time system exists in Lancashire and Yorkshire, emptying the schools of children over the age of 12 or 12½, it is quite impossible for the Board of Education to require of every local education authority that it should provide for the older children in the elementary schools those forms of practical instruction and higher elementary instruction which are best fitted to develop their aptitude. That is one of the defects of our present system of elementary education which we propose to cure under the Bill. But of course there are others. A considerable proportion of the children who come to these schools are unable to profit by their instruction by reason of the industrial strain of work undertaken before school begins, during the dinner hour, and up to a late hour at night. I believe if you ask those who are conversant with the working of the educational system in this country to name any one single reform which they would have in preference to any other, they would unite in saying they would desire further limitation of the hours of industrial toil during the elementary school life. (Cheers.)

I ask hon. members before they condemn the proposals of the Bill by reason of the unfamiliarity of one particular clause in it to consider once, twice, or thrice before they carry their opposition any further. If the Bill passes into law, the whole spirit and outlook of our elementary schools will be changed for the better.

In the course of the debate a fear has been expressed that the Bill will tend to injure the individuality of the country. I hold that the belief that public education weakens individuality and the belief that it weakens the sense of parental responsibility are delusions. Education is not one of the black arts; its function is not to suppress individuality, but to develop it, and if it were true that public education sapped liberty, we should expect to find very much less liberty in the world now than there was at the time of our forefathers, before the system of public education had been introduced. The Board of Education has for a long time past steadily pursued a policy calculated to bring home to the parents of the children in our schools interest in the work of the schools and a sense of responsibility to their children. We have welcome evidence to the effect that, as one of the results of the better education of the younger parents of the present day, they are taking an ever greater interest in the school work of their children. (Cheers.) It is, of course, impossible to expect uneducated parents to take an interest in education, and that is as true of the uneducated rich parents as of the uneducated poor parents. But if I were asked which of the two systems, the system of the public schools, which is patronized by the rich, or the system of the elementary schools, which is endured by the poor, has the greater tendency to foster the

spirit of parental responsibility, I know what my answer would be. The well-to-do parent sends his child to a boarding school and sees very little of him except during the holidays. The child of the poor parent comes home every night, and is at home every Saturday and Sunday. The hon. and gallant gentleman (Sir M. Sykes) made the suggestion that it might be possible to introduce into the Bill some clause emphasizing the responsibility of parents in connection with the continued education of their children. Any suggestion which he may bring to me with that object will receive sympathetic consideration.

The object of the Bill is to provide the greatest possible number of outlets for talent of all descriptions. We are proposing in the Bill to make it an obligation resting upon the local education authority to provide secondary education for all those pupils who are fit to receive it, and to stimulate the provision of central schools, higher elementary schools, junior technical schools, and junior commercial schools. We are proposing to give every talent the opportunity of developing under the provisions of this measure. The fact that we are, in addition, proposing a scheme of compulsory part-time education for the whole adolescent population between fourteen and eighteen years of age, subject to certain exceptions, is not incompatible with the operation of the scheme for the selection and development of special talent. (Hear, hear.) If we are to have a selective system and nothing else, that is, I think, open to two objections. In the first place, it is necessarily a voluntary system, and applies to a very small minority of people; in the second place, although it does provide education for those young people who are most capable of turning their education to the best advantage, it leaves out of account all the people I most want to get in.

I consider that the great weakness of our system of education lies in the fact that the vast majority of the young people in this country go out into the world after the period of the elementary school is past, and are thereafter subject to no sort of disinterested supervision whatever, so that we have a continual wastage of ability, of character, and of physique. That is the principal evil which it is proposed to remedy under this Bill. (Cheers.) In other words this Bill claims the principle of the right of youth. We hold that young people have a right to be educated, and that youth is the period specially set apart for that purpose. Of course, like all other individual rights the right of education has to be measured by the higher expediencies of the State; but I believe that the only true way of approaching the problem is for the State to make up its mind, after due consideration of all the relevant circumstances, as to the minimum of education that its citizens should receive, and then to require that minimum to be given. There is nothing sacrosanct itself about industry. The real interest of the State does not consist in the maintenance of this or that industry, but in the maintenance of the welfare of all its citizens, and I submit to the House that if the State come to the conclusion that young people ought to receive a fairly effective early education for some hours in every week during the period of adolescence the employers of juvenile labour should recognize that it is a legitimate tax upon their industry, just as they recognize that the Factory Act forms a legitimate tax upon their industry.

Another important question has been raised in the debate with respect to the effect of the Bill upon the economic output and the wages and profits of those engaged in industry. No country in the long run suffers economic injury from an improvement in the general education of its population. (Cheers.) Wages and profits ultimately depend on the economic output of the community, and the causes upon which this output ultimately depends are the physique, character,

and intelligence of the community itself. Granted that the educational proposals now before the House have the effect of strengthening the physique, shaping the character, and enlarging the intelligence of the community, it follows that the economic output will be increased with the resultant benefit to all engaged in the economic life of the country. There are in the provisions of this Bill certain features peculiarly adapted to the exercise of the triple influence to which I have referred. Passing to the moral purpose contained in the Bill, he said :—I am quite aware that a very large number of people have very little belief in the form of training provided in the schools. I remember that there was a mediæval British sage who declared that he had learned more from one fair heathen maiden of twenty than from all the doctors in the University of Paris, and we are all of us aware that there is a great deal to be learned which is not taught in the schools. (Laughter.) Is there anybody viewing this question from the table-land of impartiality who could possibly contend that our present system, which throws children into the world at the age of twelve or thirteen, with no continuous supervision whatever except that which is supplied by their industrial masters and foremen, is well calculated to fashion character? It is not a system which well-to-do parents adopt. Our secondary schools are filled with the children of parents who have made the heaviest sacrifices in order to save them from premature exposure to the risks of industrial life. When it is proposed in the Bill to give to these children of poorer parents some measure of the moral guidance and direction which is universally claimed for the children of richer homes, I confidently claim that I shall have behind me the whole moral sense of the community. (Cheers.)

The broad question before the House is whether the education provided for the general mass of our young citizens is adequate to our needs. We have been asking them to fight and work for their country; we have been asking them to die for their country, to economize for their country, to go short of food for their country, to work overtime for their country, to abandon trade union rules for their country, to be patient while towns are bombed from enemy aircraft, and family after family is plunged into domestic sorrow. We have now decided to enfranchise for the first time the women of this country. I ask, then, whether the education which is given to the great mass of our young citizens is adequate to the new, serious, and enduring liabilities which the development of this great world War creates for our Empire, or to the new civic burdens which we are imposing upon millions of our people. I say it is not adequate. (Hear, hear.) Any competent judge of facts in this country must agree with me. (Hear, hear.) I believe it is our duty here and now to improve our system of education, and I hold that if we allow our vision to be blurred by a catalogue of passing inconveniences, we shall not only lose a golden opportunity, but fail in our great trust to posterity. (Cheers.)

### THE RIGHT HON. J. H. THOMAS, 1873

General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. Started working at the age of nine as an errand boy, and followed through several grades of the railway service. Was the chief personality of the Great Railway Strike of 1919.

#### ON LABOUR AND CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS

FROM what I can see at present we are drifting headlong to ruin.

I think the time has come for very plain speaking. I have just returned from America, and everything I have seen there, taken in conjunction with the events

now occurring in this country, convinces me that we shall lose our commercial supremacy, short of some drastic change in our political methods.

Open incitement to violence appears to have become common in the last few weeks, whether it be on the part of Sir Edward Carson and his Ulster Volunteers, or a certain section of the working-class community.

I am dead against this threat of brute force. Perhaps such an attitude may be unpopular with the Railwaymen's Executive, but I think the situation is too serious to do otherwise than tell the plain truth.

If the trade unions wish to enforce their demands the House of Commons is the place.

At present we appear to be slowly relapsing into a state of affairs whereby any particular section of the people can, by talk of open rebellion or revolution, compel the remainder of the country to acquiesce in their demands. To all intents and purposes those are the tactics of Soviet rule, very little removed from those obtaining in Russia.

Either the country is to surrender itself to a condition which means the loss of the greater part of our over-seas trade or else constitutional government is to be restored.

Throughout America I saw conclusively that the fullest preparations are being made for the capture of our commercial supremacy. The English sovereign is steadily depreciating in value.

What the people in this country apparently will not realize is that America is in the position to hold us to ransom. The United States contains all the raw materials we shall require for our commercial reconstruction, and unless we are prepared to turn to and manufacture on something like our old basis we shall have to pay prices which, in the long run, can only result in disaster.

I do not pretend that America is not undergoing industrial trouble. But by comparison with us the Americans are going along smoothly and their workmen, encouraged by liberal piece-work rates, are turning out vast quantities of goods which are going to supplant ours in the over-seas markets.

The United States does not need to import much in the way of raw materials and her economic position is therefore unrivalled to-day among the great nations of the world.

Some of the people in this country will not appreciate that vital fact, but they will wake up to it before long.

No nation which is constantly having a pistol pointed at its head by its own people can live, whether the pistol comes from Belfast or Barnsley.

Unless we are governed with courage chaos is going to result, and that before very long. It is time the Government made up its mind, one way or the other.

### HORATIO W. BOTTOMLEY, M.P., 1860

Publicist and journalist. Mr. Bottomley's vigorous style of speech and writing has brought him an enormous popular following. He is generally regarded as the best lay lawyer in the country, and is the author and chief advocate of a Business Government.

### AN APPRECIATION OF BRADLAUGH

My ideal public man has always been Charles Bradlaugh. I was thrown into close contact with him at a very early age, and I watched his public career, in all its aspects, from the old Hall of Science days down to the tragedy of his death.



On September 30th last year, I presided at the annual dinner of the Bradlaugh Fellowship—an association of disciples of the dead man, formed to keep his memory green—and it has been suggested that the little speech which I delivered on that occasion, and which the Committee thought worthy of being printed, should find a corner in this book. I accordingly give it :

#### EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

In rising to give you this toast, my thoughts involuntarily go back to the days, now upwards of thirty years ago, when as a youth I came up from school in connection with the funeral of one of Bradlaugh's most trusted and devoted allies, a relative of my own, Austin Holyoake—a younger brother of my distinguished uncle, George Jacob Holyoake, who has also gone to rest. I well remember how even in those early days I was impressed by the magnetic personality of the man ; and how, as time went on, and I was privileged to know him better, I fell more and more under his influence. Doing a variety of little things in his service, and in connection with the old *National Reformer*, attending his meetings at the Hall of Science and elsewhere, and coming into intimate contact with him privately and publicly, I learnt to know him as he was—with the result that by degrees an impression was fixed upon my mind which has remained strong and steadfast through the years which have gone by, and which it requires but a glance at the striking portrait in front of me to revive in all its force to-night.

Ladies and Gentlemen : They were the days of the "Iconoclast"—the days of calumny, persecution, and bitter struggle. "Respectable" people passed him by on the other side ; the Press noticed him only to revile and libel him ; priests and politicians, if they mentioned his name at all, did so with a lie upon their tongues. But who cared ? Wasn't he a dangerous and vulgar agitator—a man who knew not God, a Republican who had dared to impeach the House of Brunswick ? So he stood—without friends, without means, without influence. And yet those of us who knew him—anticipating the verdict of history—felt that in him we had found a great and wonderful man—a born leader of men—a man such as a century seldom produces more than once. On and on he went, ever hopeful, ever courageous—preaching what he believed to be the true Gospel, the Gospel of Humanity, with Reason for its creed, and Human Emancipation for its faith. I sometimes think that that period of his life—the late seventies—was the most picturesque time in all his career. Victor Hugo, I think it was, once said that a fixed principle is like a fixed star—the darker the night the brighter it shines. And so it was with Bradlaugh ! To appreciate the full beauty of his nature you must place it against the dark background of those squalid, struggling days. And as we knew him, so we loved him. Gentle as a lamb—brave as a lion ; tender as a woman—ferocious as a tiger ; simple as a child—subtle as the most abstruse logician ; an apparent combination of contradictions and incompatibilities, like all great men.

#### BELATED PUBLIC APPRECIATION

And then the world discovered him. After years of bitter struggle, the doors of the House of Commons were at last burst open. How he forced them ; how once in the House, he won first its interest, then its admiration, and then its love ; the commanding influence he secured and the good work he did—these are all parts of a story often told. And when that dark day came in January, 1891, all the world

realized that it had lost one of its noblest sons. Politicians of all parties vied to do him honour—strong men spoke with big lumps in their throats ; out in distant India the people mourned a champion as they had never mourned before. A void was left in public life which has never yet been filled. Where would he have been to-day ? What position might he not have attained ? I confess that when I sit in the House of Commons and listen to the empty platitudes of party strife ; when I watch the petty struggles of puny politicians ; when I gaze upon that fortuitous concourse of Parliamentary atoms called the Labour Party—which, however high its aims, lacks the inspiring element of great leadership—there is rarely a day that I do not say : “ If only Bradlaugh were here ! ”

#### THE END OF THE MYSTERY

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, he has gone. All that was physical of him has long been returned to Mother Earth. It may be that when that is said, all is said. I know not—you know not. But I find it hard to believe that all the wonderful forces which went to make up that mighty man have been disintegrated and dissipated in the world of unconscious matter. I find it hard to believe that Nature, so jealous of waste in all else, would be so wanton in destruction of her most precious gifts. Some of you will say that that is a sentiment of a devoted heart rather than of a reasoning brain. So it may be ; who shall say ? Priests may dogmatize ; poets may dream ; scientists may grope ; philosophers may argue. But we stand to-day in relation to such things just where we stood far away in the ages—where, perhaps, we shall ever stand—bound, Prometheus-like, to the rock of mystery by the chains of our finite vision. No man ever felt the grip and clanging of those chains more than did our friend—but whilst others cried to the priest for deliverance, he trusted in the strength of his own right arm—and he died in the struggle. To-night we mourn him ; and though many of you—most of you—are resigned to the belief that he is dead and gone for ever and for ever, still, even you, and all of us, may surely take this comfort to our hearts—that if it should some day prove to be the fact that the almost universal instinct of mankind is right, and that somewhere beyond what we call Death there be another life—a life where the great and the good receive their reward—then, if in that world there count for righteousness true nobility of character on earth, inviolability of honesty, purity of purpose, and inflexibility of courage—there, high amongst the highest and most honoured amongst the noblest, will be found the majestic soul of brave Charles Bradlaugh.



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